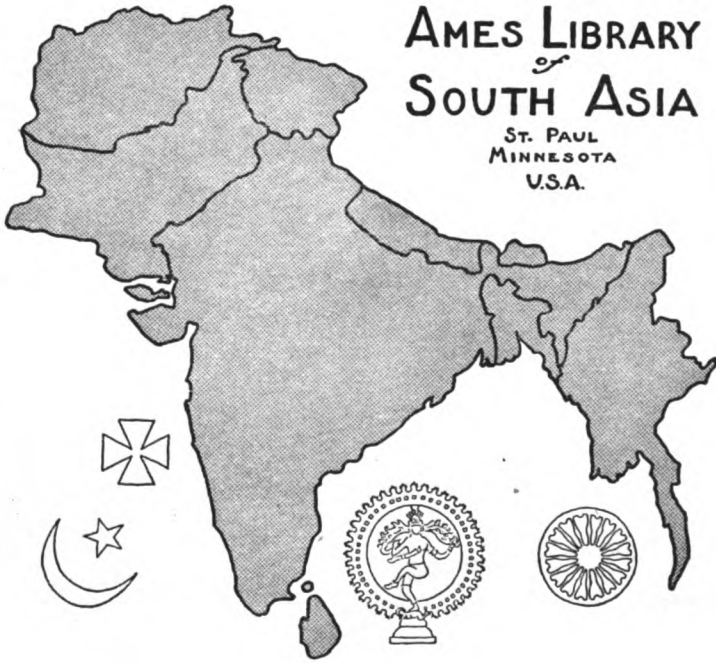


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Robert B. Armstrong
"In memory of an old friend"
J. H. W. Elliott

25 August 1896

Dear Mr Armstrong

I return Walter Elliott's note
some which I fear I may
have kept too long but
trust it may reach you
all right & before you
go to France which I think
you intended to be about
the first of September &
when I hope you may get
relief from any future

return in retaliation to govt

Bill has been shooting
at Debnecumph. To his
astonishment day he
hadged 19% br. not bad.
From he makes for Comeli:
ering & then Kincaidson
they have had a great
deal of opinion both in
Invernesshire & Aberdeenshire

Yours very truly
Wm Scott Elliot

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Walter Muir

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

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John A. Smith

SIR WALTER ELLIOT

OF

WOLFELEE

A Sketch of his Life, and a few Extracts
from his Note Books

BY

ROBERT SEWELL

LATE MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE



Edinburgh

1896



**"Flee Sin: Be strong for the right,
And aye bide sure in God Dis might."**

PREFACE.

THE following pages contain a short sketch of the life of the late Sir Walter Elliot of Wolfelee, my father, with a few extracts from his very copious note books. The latter, so far as they related to India—principally Southern India—were entrusted to Mr. Sewell, of the Indian Civil Service, by my mother, the late Lady Elliot—whose dearest wish was to see some use made of them, but who did not live to see her desire fulfilled—with a view to the publication of such notes as he should select as likely to prove of general interest. These have appeared periodically for several years past in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, by consent of Dr. Leitner, who has supplied a hundred copies of the sheets of each instalment, mostly paged on consecutively, so as finally to lie between the covers of a single volume. Carelessness in the printing office, however, has unfortunately caused a break of paging in two places, as well as the repetition of headings, useful only for the *Review*; but, as the volume is intended merely for private circulation, it is hoped that this defect may be pardoned.

Owing to want of room in the *Review*, and the pressure of other matter, the publication has proceeded slowly—so much so that at the end of five years only the papers included in the present volume have seen the light. But, as the years have passed on, and the ranks of those who, from feelings of personal attachment to my father, would value this little book, have become sadly thinned, it is felt best that its distribution should take place without further delay.

I desire to place on record my most sincere and heartfelt thanks to Mr. Sewell for the kindly spirit in which he undertook, and has carried out, this work; and I am sure the surviving members of my family, and all my father's old friends, will join me in this expression of gratitude.

E. H. M. ELLIOT.

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* The volume has been wrongly paged, and the letters refer to the three sets of numbers.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(*Reprinted from "The Asiatic Quarterly Review."*)

THE following papers are a series of extracts from miscellaneous notes, contained in several volumes, written by the late Sir W. Elliot, of Wolfelee, and kept during his Indian career of forty years as a Madras civilian from 1820 to 1860. I publish them by permission of Lady Elliot and the trustees, as they contain much that may be of interest and utility to the general public, and especially to that portion of it interested in Asiatic subjects. The note-books are divided into two classes—Natural History in Southern India, on the one hand, and Archæology, Ethnology, and many kindred subjects, on the other. With the former I have no concern ; but during my perusal of the latter series of volumes, I have come across many valuable papers and memoranda. Considered merely as daily jottings during the life of an Indian civilian, some of them written nearly seventy years ago, they have their interest ; but it will be found that as a rule they are of more positive utility. Viewed also as the personal notes of an exceptionally able, thoughtful, and kindly administrator, they afford a valuable lesson to officers in similar positions.

For portions of the information relating to his career, I am indebted to several obituary notices in various periodicals, and for others to Sir Walter's own notes, while Lady Elliot has herself afforded me material assistance.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

I preface the collection of extracts by a short account of Sir Walter Elliot's life and work. In preparing this, I have attempted, not merely to give the bare details,

but to bring his career somewhat more vividly before the reader. His life and life's work were exceptionally noteworthy. They afford an example of what can be done by close work, keen observation, patient industry, and a spirit of untiring inquiry, which nothing seemed to daunt, and for which nothing appeared too small or too great. From the first outset of his career he made notes of everything he saw. If he shot a wild animal, he made accurate measurements of it. If he galloped across country, he afterwards jotted down memoranda relating to its geological conformation. If he halted in a jungle, he instinctively became a botanist for the nonce, or observed and made notes of the movements and habits of its bird and insect life. In the office he was in the habit of making constant personal memoranda bearing on the economical condition of the people committed to his charge; while in court, hearing and settling their disputes with rare sympathy and large-heartedness, he never failed to record the peculiar customs of tribes, habits of classes, linguistic peculiarities of tracts, and everything which struck him as noteworthy or interesting.

It is hoped that a full biography of Sir Walter Elliot will some day be published. The present is an attempt merely to summarize his career by way of introduction to the series of papers which follow.

He was a scion of the old Border family of Elliots of Lariston, in Liddesdale, Roxburghshire, from whom is also descended the present chief, Sir William Eliott, of Stobs. William Elliot, brother of Elliot of Lariston, married the daughter and heiress of Scott of Horsley Hill, and founded this branch of the family. In the 16th century, owing to Border feuds, the Elliots had to leave the country; but a descendant, William, in 1722, bought Wolfelee, an estate in Upper Teviotdale beautifully situated on the side of the lofty hills under which runs Catley Burn, one of the affluents of the Teviot. The house stands high above the burn, surrounded by woods and completely sheltered, while from the

hill above a splendid view is obtained of the Cheviots and the neighbouring country. His son, born a year later, married a daughter of Sir John Elphinstone of Craighouse, and Logie, but had no issue. One of William Elliot's grandsons was a major in the 1st Madras Light Cavalry, and died at Vellore in 1802. A grand-daughter married General Sir Thomas Dallas, and their eldest son entered the Indian Civil Service. Marrying into the family of Yorke, his son assumed the name of Dallas-Yorke, and the latter's daughter recently married the Duke of Portland. A descendant of the same William Elliot became the wife of Earl Cairns, the Lord Chancellor of England, and another married the 12th Lord Elphinstone, whose son, the 13th peer of the name, was afterwards Governor of Madras and Bombay. James Elliot, younger son of Cornelius, eldest son of the William Elliot who bought Wolfelee, married in 1799 the daughter of the last Laird of Polmood, whose wife was the Lady Caroline Mackenzie, daughter of the Earl of Cromartie who forfeited his title and estates in 1745. The eldest son of James Elliot died in infancy; the second son, Walter, the subject of this memoir, thus became head of his branch of the family, quartering with his own the arms of Polmood in right of his mother, and inheriting Wolfelee from his father, since his uncle, the elder son of Cornelius, had died without issue.

Born in 1803, Walter Elliot in early life lived at a country-house then called Stewartfield, now Hartrigge, Lord Stratheden's place near Jedburgh; so that, born in a Border family, he resided on what the Scotch call the right side of the Borders during the whole of his long life which was not spent in India, and imbibed Border ideas from his infancy. Throwing himself with energy into every branch of study, he was never happier than when deeply immersed in Border lore. The library at Wolfelee is stocked with books relating to the old county families of the south of Scotland; and all the traditions of the Elliots are Border

traditions. The very last effort of his life was to write a paper on one of the ancient Border minstrels, called "Rattling Roaring Willie," for the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, which was printed, with additional notes, after Sir Walter's death by Mr. Elliott Lockhart, his son-in-law.

His earliest education was imparted by a clergyman in Cumberland, the Rev. James Traill, who afterwards became a chaplain of the East India Company at Madras. After studying at home with a private tutor for three or four years, he was sent to a school near Doncaster, called Carr House, kept by the Rev. Dr. Inchbald. Here he remained till he was fifteen, when he received an appointment in the East India Company's service, and went to Haileybury, as was usual in those days. Here the boy's natural gifts stood him in good stead. The members of his father's family had long been noted in the Scottish metropolis for their high social and intellectual accomplishments, and Elliot never seemed to have any trouble in mastering the subjects of study with which he had to deal. He passed out of Haileybury in the shortest possible time with the honorary certificate of "highly distinguished." In the field, as in the schoolroom, he bore the same character, and was noted no less for his robust and handsome physique than for his zeal and activity in all sports. He was one of those men who seem destined to be foremost in everything; and the East India Company never made a better bargain than when they secured him for their service.

In March, 1820, being then seventeen years old, young Elliot embarked in the Indiaman *Kelly Castle* (Capt. Lindsay), and landed at Madras on the 14th of June following. The voyage generally took about three months in those days; and the landing was through the well-known surf, so graphically depicted by his friend Col. Campbell, in the fascinating memoir called "My Indian Journal." In Madras the young civilian was kept for two pleasant years at the college of Fort St. George, going through the

regular course of study then prescribed, including the vernacular languages, Indian law and history, and the like. The habits of industry so early practised and the inherited brilliancy of his intellectual powers again brought him to the front; and when he passed out it was (June, 1823) with an honorary reward of 1000 pagodas (Rs. 3,500) for remarkable proficiency in Tamil and Hindustani.

Mr. Elliot's first appointment appears to have been that of Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Salem; but the cut-and-dried life of an executive official in a settled province, even in those days, did not seem to satisfy the impulsive energy of his character, and he begged to be sent for duty to a "non-regulation" province. The dominions of the old Mahratta sovereignty had very shortly before fallen under British sway. It was in 1817 that the all-powerful Peshwa at Poonah had consented by treaty, after the Pindari war, to receive, and act under the instructions of, a British Resident. After a half-hearted obedience lasting only two months, during which the Peshwa had raised levies of horse and foot and had openly attacked and burned the British Residency, he had finally surrendered. His troops were completely defeated; Poonah was delivered up; and the sovereignty of the Mahrattas came to an end. Six years later the affairs of the Mahratta nation were being conducted by a Commissioner residing at Poonah, and the territory had been divided into provinces one of which was known as the Southern Mahratta Country. In charge of this tract was a Principal Collector, Mr. St. John Thackeray, who was also styled Political Agent to the Governor of Bombay, with head-quarters at Dhârwar; and to this district Walter Elliot, owing no doubt to the influence of powerful friends as well as to his own undisputed abilities, was appointed as Assistant. The country was in a disturbed state in many respects, even though six years had passed since the transfer of sovereignty to the East India Company. The old chiefs and

their families, accustomed for generations, like the barons of Europe, to almost unbounded power within their own tracts, owning no lord save the Peshwa, and left practically to rule their estates as petty sovereigns, could ill brook the interference of foreigners and the restraints forced on them by the presence and watchfulness of British agents; and the inhabitants of these petty baronies, however far they went in outward show of respect to the representatives of the ruling *Sarkar*, or Government, were in their inmost hearts still loyal to their old rulers. The country was little known, and the habits and temper of the people still less so, and Elliot, on his arrival after his long journey by land from Madras, found a splendid field for his inquiring and observant nature. He threw himself with ardour into field sports no less than into the work of the Kacheri, and set himself to acquire all possible information.

In 1824, the year after he joined, occurred an event which very nearly put an early end to his career. The chief of Kittûr, who lived in a strong fort in the district, surrounded by turbulent followers and owning considerable estates, died without issue, and the usual intrigues were set on foot regarding the succession. Parties were formed, and an attempt was made to induce Mr. Thackeray to recommend to Government an adopted son, on the strength of a document fabricated after the chief's death and consequently invalid. The Political Agent, powerless to act alone, referred for orders to his Government, and did his best to quiet the discontent arising from the delay in receiving an answer from Bombay. Day by day the relatives of the deceased Rajah awaited the reply of the Government, and day by day the irritation increased. There was no recognised chief. The official placed in charge of the estate by Mr. Thackeray grossly misconducted himself; every form of injustice was rife; and the people of the fort knew not from hour to hour whether the new British Government

would not treat their old Rāj as an escheat, and deprive the chief's family as well as all his numerous dependents and vassals of their means of subsistence. To add to their anxiety, the Kittûr feudatory happened to be the only chief of his caste in the Mahratta country. He was a Lingayat, or Jangam, and the feeling amongst the caste men was intense. The chief's death had taken place on September 11th or 12th; and about the 15th one of Mr. Thackeray's Brahman clerks assumed charge of the estate jointly with the late chief's Diwân. Elated with the insolence of office, and delighted at the opportunity of showing caste-superiority, the Brahman manager speedily disgusted the principal Sardârs by his vulgar disregard of their prejudices. Informed at Dharwar by an enemy of the Diwân's of the fabrication of the document of adoption after the late chief's death, Mr. Thackeray, taking with him Messrs. Elliot and Stevenson, his civilian assistants, proceeded to Kittûr, and received from the Diwân an admission of the fraud that had been attempted. The admission was doubtless coupled by specious arguments founded on native customs and superstitions, for it was stated that the signature had been obtained by placing a pen in the hand of the corpse. It is quite possible that this ceremony would have been sufficient in those days to satisfy the minds of the people of the country, so long as there was no opposition to the adoption of the individual selected. Mr. Thackeray, however, treated the whole affair as a deliberate fraud, removed the Diwân from office, and ordered him to confine himself to his house. He was superseded by an avowed enemy; and the official who had betrayed him to Mr. Thackeray was placed in a high position of trust. This affair naturally augmented the suspicion and alarm prevalent in the fort. The situation became still more strained when Mr. Thackeray,—finding, on inquiry, that there was a distinct failure of heirs, that the only possible course for Government to adopt would be, either

to resume the entire estate, or to confer it, for life only, on the chief's surviving wife, and that this latter course was calculated to lash into fury the strong-minded mother of a former wife, who headed by far the most powerful party in the fort,—decided that, in the interests of all parties, he must make a full inquiry into the resources of the estate. His conduct in taking account of the treasury and instituting minute investigations increased in the minds of those interested the belief that the rāj was passing away from them. On September 29th Mr. Elliot and his companions became alarmed by reports of collections and assemblies of the people; but still Mr. Thackeray's inquiries proceeded, all the heads of villages being summoned to render their accounts. During the days that followed, the Fort party continued to collect men and arms* and to prepare for open resistance in case of need; but the only positive warning communicated to the English officers appears to have been one given, on the occasion of a shooting expedition, to young Elliot, who had already endeared himself to the people. This warning he repeated to his chief; and Mr. Thackeray made an excuse to get a troop of Horse Artillery sent to Kittûr. These arrived on the 18th October, commanded by Capt. Black and Lieutenants Sewell and Dighton; and though Mr. Thackeray repeatedly assured the Government that he required no military assistance, and had not deliberately called for the troops as a military measure, there can be no doubt whatever that their presence augmented the excitement of the people. As day after day passed and no final orders were received from Government, the elder mother-in-law of the late Rajah determined to leave the place and carry off the treasure; and when she attempted actually to carry this into effect, Mr. Thackeray found it absolutely necessary to seize the gates of the fort. This was done by means of the

* The chief had before this been severely rebuked by Government for sheltering bands of highway robbers in his estates. (*Bom. Gaz. Art. Belgaum.*)

men of his escort, who had orders to allow no one to leave the fort without permission from the Political Agent ; a measure which, necessary though it may have been, must have had a most exasperating effect. Mr. Elliot tells us that he had been very unwell during those few days, and it was not until the 22nd that he again entered the fort. He then found that he was treated with "the most unequivocal marks of bad feeling" ; and the same evening the Sardârs flatly refused to obey Mr. Thackeray's summons requesting their attendance at the office inside the fort. On this, the Collector thought fit to send for a division of guns to overawe the people, and on their appearance the civilians left the fort. The position in the evening was as follows : The inner gate of the fort was in possession of the British troops, but there were two other gates outside this one, held by the Rajah's people, while all the English were at their respective camps. Elliot dined at the troop mess, Thackeray having gone to his own camp. All night armed men in the service of the Rajah were thronging into the fort, and every preparation was made for open resistance. In the morning admission into the fort was refused, and Capt. Black found that his men at the inner gate could not get out, in consequence of the two outer gates being held by the natives. Mr. Thackeray seems to have been ill, but on Capt. Black's request for orders, he sent a message that the mutineers were to be warned, and after twenty minutes, on their refusal to allow the division of guns at the inner gate to be relieved, the outer gate was to be blown in. Due notice was given, but entrance was obstinately refused, and the Rajah's men (henceforth called the enemy) were thronging the walls and high ground inside the fort. After twenty minutes the guns opened fire.* One was

* The writer of the article on Belgaum in the official *Gazetteer* speaks as if the sortie which followed, in which the officers lost their lives, took place before the guns actually opened fire ; but Sir W. Elliot's note proves that this was not the case. (R. S.)

directed at the gate, and one, under Lieut. Sewell, was posted on some rising ground to keep down the fire from the walls. The matchlock men made good practice; some men were wounded, and Lieut. Sewell was shot through the breast, receiving a mortal wound, of which he died next day. Mr. Elliot hurried off to find Mr. Thackeray, and, learning that he had been carried down in a palanquin towards the gate, ran back with Stevenson to join him; but on reaching the open ground they found that a sortie had been made, and that the gunners had been outnumbered, and were in full retreat. Some native mounted orderlies advised the two young civilians to retire while there was yet time, saying that Mr. Thackeray had been killed; but they were unwilling to fly, and remained alone.

The enemy rapidly approached, and when it was seen that they were giving no quarter, the two Englishmen fled into a house for refuge. They were kindly treated; and after a time a dependent of the Rajah's, with whom they were acquainted, came to the house, surrounded them with a compact body of his own men to save them from the fury of the armed rabble outside, and conducted them into the fort, not without difficulty and danger as several attacks were made on the little party. Near the glacis they saw the dead body of Mr. Thackeray, and descending towards the outer gate that of Lieut. Dighton who had been killed early in the affair. Inside the gate was the corpse of Capt. Black. At the third gate, standing to their arms, was the small band of gunners, who had never been able to leave the place; but the walls were swarming with matchlock men. Resistance was hopeless; and on the advice of the civilians, all surrendered and were taken prisoners. The survivors were treated with much kindness and consideration. The soldiers were sent out to camp the next day, each with a small present, and the two young civilians remained alone in the hands of their captors. They lost all they possessed, as the camps had been sacked, and everything plundered and destroyed.

The Diwân had been murdered by the same man who had informed Mr. Thackeray of the deceit practised in regard to the documents of adoption. Elliot and Stevenson remained prisoners for six weeks.*

As the insurgents showed no intention of submitting, the Bombay Government had no alternative but to reduce the place by force. Troops were concentrated,† and by the 25th of November the place was invested. This must

* Mr. John Jardine, now Judge of the High Court of Bombay, and formerly employed in the Dhárwár district, writes to me, that while there in 1868 he met an old man, a connection of the Kittúr family, named Rám Rao. "He came to me with an autobiography in English, and so I learned from that and from his lips about the insurrection at Kittúr, the killing of Mr. Thackeray, the Principal Collector, the imprisonment of Sir W. Elliot and Stevenson, both Assistant Collectors. My informant was then a young accountant; and his rise in life began by his being able to show kindness to the two captive civilians, getting them bread and meat from Dhárwár, etc. He said they were kindly treated by the Désái of Kittur." The following extracts from a letter written by Mr. Stevenson on November 19th, from their prison, to the wife of General Hunter Blair, then military Secretary to Sir C. Colville, Commander in Chief in Bombay, will be read with interest. The letter was placed in my hands by Lady Elliot, the General's niece. "The escape of my Friend Elliot and myself on the unfortunate 23rd, was miraculous. A stronger arm than our own defended us. Of the many blows aimed at me, only one took effect, and that fortunately struck my head, which being tolerably thick (and the blow having been struck by one of the mob who was not very near my person) sustained no further injury than a headache. Our jailors treat us pretty well; the only thing we found particularly irksome was the constant attendance night and day of three guards who . . . were directed never to lose sight of us. I talk in the past tense because although the system still exists habit has made us callous to it. . . . We get through the day pretty well, our friends from Dharwar supplying us with food both for the mind and body, so that with reading, writing, . . . we manage indifferently well to get rid of time. We look forward with anxiety, however, to the arrival of Mr. Chaplin, which I fear will not be so soon as we expected; indeed we had hoped that he would have reached Kittoor to-day, but he is obliged to delay until all the troops are assembled. He will not therefore be here before the 25th, I think. My friend Elliot is much flattered by your kind mention of him. . . ."

† The 1st Bombay Regiment, two companies of His Majesty's 46th Foot, a battery of Horse Artillery, the 4th and 8th Madras Cavalry, the 23rd Madras Infantry, and the 3rd and 6th Bombay Infantry, the whole under the command of Col. Deacon, C.B.

have been an excessively anxious period personally for the captives; for the English commander sternly refused to listen to any proposals from the enemy based on conditions connected with their safety; and from day to day they must have had the fear of death before their eyes. Their captors, however, were no less aware on their side that their best chance for the future lay in gentleness towards their young prisoners; and moreover they belonged to a race not generally given to wanton bloodshed, however unsparing they might be in actual warfare; and so it came about that on the 2nd of December they were quietly marched out under a flag of truce, and handed over to Mr. Chaplin, the British Commissioner.

The insurgents still refusing to surrender, a hill in the neighbourhood of the fort was stormed and carried on the 3rd, and a battery constructed thereon. The defenders surrendered unconditionally on the 5th, and the rest of the prisoners were delivered up. Liberal terms were granted to all.

Thus ended this tragic affair.* It was an exciting commencement to Elliot's career, and one eminently calculated to strengthen his self-reliance and develop his already manly character. It must have had its effect in many ways, for it brought him for weeks together into direct contact with the natives of the country he was to administer. Their gentle treatment of their prisoners, Elliot's own sympathy with their anxieties and difficulties, the kindness and cordiality he experienced at the hands of several, no less than his consciousness of their intriguing character, their ferocity when roused, and their proneness to take merciless revenge on the persons of those who seriously injured them, all must have combined to influence his ideas for the future, and to enable him to understand the Hindus as few other administrators have done.

* The events that took place at Kittur are immortalized in the Canarese country by being sung in a popular ballad. (*Fleet in Ind. Ant.*, xiv. 293.)

Quick to discern the character of their rulers, even if often forgetful and apparently ungrateful, the natives of India are never unresponsive to kindness and geniality; and they found in Elliot all the qualities they looked for in one placed in his high position—firmness, manliness, gentleness, and equability of temper, joined to a strong desire to become intimately acquainted with themselves, their customs and feelings, no less than their language and history.* It is no wonder that a few years later, viz. in 1829, he was retained in that district by Government, though he was a Madras civilian, and the Mahratta country was placed under the Bombay government. This was an exceptional recognition of good service, and one of which Elliot was justly proud. Sir John Malcolm would not allow him to be superseded, and made a special appointment in order to allow of his retention in his old province. Here therefore he remained till 1833, when he went home for the first time in his service on furlough, after having been in India twelve years, ten of which were spent in and about Dhárwár.

As to the manner of Elliot's life during these years we get the best knowledge, not from himself, for he says very little about it, but from two outside sources. One is the tradition of the country people, who still cling to Elliot's memory as to that of one of the best men they ever had over them, and the other is the well-known work by the late Col. Walter Campbell, called "*My Indian Journal*." Here we have a record of Elliot's devotion to sport, and the resulting study of natural history, given us by one who had never met him before, but to whom he speedily endeared himself by his fine qualities. It is not generally known that the "Elliot" of "*My Indian Journal*" was the late Sir Walter of that name.

* Mr. Jardine tells me that Sir W. Elliot left behind him a great name in the Carnatic country, and that he is still remembered there. This, after an interval of 70 years, is exceedingly high praise for an Indian official.

It seems that Colonel Campbell, then a subaltern, had a brother in the Civil Service working in the same province as Mr. Elliot, and to them, living at Dhárwár, Campbell journeyed from Madras, riding and shooting on the road. He travelled by way of Chittoor, Punganûr, Bangalore, and Chitaldroog. The journey lasted from October 4th, 1830; to February 23rd, 1831, on which date Campbell arrived at Dhárwár. He had several adventures on the way, among which must be numbered a night attack made on him by a band of dacoits close to Dhárwár; but he emerged unhurt from the affray, and on February 24th met for the first time Walter Elliot, then twenty-eight years old and a Sub-collector. The two became fast friends, and, as the following extracts will show, devoted themselves energetically to all manly sports. I make no apology for inserting several extracts from Colonel Campbell's book, for it is a stroke of rare good fortune to have this testimony to Elliot's worth penned by one who was a stranger to him in his earlier years, and who only met him first when both were in the prime of young manhood. Sir Walter was never wont to narrate his adventures with gun and rifle; and though the house at Wolfelee is a perfect museum of natural history, the walls covered with trophies, and the principal staircase hung all over with skins, while above is a room specially set apart as a natural history museum, few visitors ever knew how many of these wild animals fell to Elliot's own gun. These extracts also serve other purposes. They tell us how in those days the younger European residents of India employed their spare time. They show what can be done by a man who is not merely a sportsman but has a touch of the naturalist in him. They bring before us the manners and customs of Anglo-Indians sixty years ago, and prove the influence for good exercised by Mr. Elliot on his companions. Further, this whole series of papers is a *réchauffé* of notes made long ago; and notes by a third party relating to Sir Walter

himself can hardly fail to be of interest. I begin with an extract from Colonel Campbell's own preface :— *

“ While these sheets have been passing through the press, my old friend Walter Elliot of Wolfelee—the Elliot mentioned in the text—who was my preceptor in Natural History and Indian Woodcraft, and a better sportsman or more zealous naturalist never shouldered rifle or handled scalpel—has been good enough to look over the proofs and return them to me, with any remarks which occurred to him ; and these remarks—which I consider a valuable addition to the work, as coming from the pen of so experienced a naturalist, and so good an Oriental linguist as Elliot is known to be—I have inserted as footnotes, with his initials[†] attached, to distinguish them from my own notes.”

• A month after his arrival at Dhárwár Campbell penned the following lines :—

“ The society of Dhárwár is decidedly above par. The civilians, in particular, are exceedingly well-informed and gentlemanlike young men, and are first-rate sportsmen, without any of the slang and swagger of ‘sporting men. They neither keep bull-dogs nor fighting-cocks, nor do they dress like ‘swell dragsmen’ and talk like stable-boys. They make use of good honest homely English, in preference to the pick-pocket slang, which I regret to say is now becoming much too common, and which, when interlarded with a few quaint blasphemies, is supposed to impart force and brilliancy to the conversation of the ‘bang up sporting character.’ . . .

“ Half the heroes of ‘the ring’ are unknown to them even by name, and I doubt much whether one among them could answer the simple questions, ‘Who wears the champion’s belt?’ ‘What is the exact weight of the famous

* At Wolfelee is a presentation copy of the book, given to Sir Walter by the late Colonel Campbell, on the fly leaf of which is the dedication to “Walter Elliot, from his Old Friend and Pupil in Woodcraft, the Author.”

dog Billy?' or 'Whether the Manchester Pet or the Game Chicken came off victorious in the last mill?' And yet I have never met with harder riders, better rifle-shots, or stauncher men to back you in the hour of danger than these same quiet gentlemanlike civilians."

A few days after Campbell's arrival the young Englishmen of Dhárwár seem to have gone out to camp on an organized shooting expedition; and it will be noticed that Elliot appears to have retained in his employ a regular staff of the best native "shikarries" procurable, without which arrangement little can ever be seen of the higher kinds of sport in India. Untrained men are useless, and "casuals" can never be depended upon in an emergency.

"*March 1st.*—We have opened our campaign gloriously. Yesterday I shot two spotted bucks before breakfast; and to-day we have taken the scalp of the famous wandering tiger, which has been the terror of the neighbourhood for the last six months.

"This morning, Elliot's native hunters, who have been on the trail of a tiger for a week past, brought intelligence that they had at last succeeded in marking him down. After following him from jungle to jungle, they watched him, at daybreak this morning, as he was returning to the Omlekop thickets, and turned him into one of the small ravines on the hills, beyond Munsoor, where he was surrounded, and word sent into camp that we should lose no time in going out, as he was savage, and likely to break through the line.

"Old 'Anak,' a fine elephant, which we had borrowed from a neighbouring rajah, was instantly despatched with guns and ammunition in the howdah, and Elliot, my brother, and I followed soon after on horseback.

"On arriving at the ground, eight miles from the camp, we found everything looking well for a certain kill. The tiger had been marked into a small open ravine, where there was no strong cover, and every rising ground within

sight was crowned by a look-out man, to turn him or mark him down if he should break away. All possible precautions having been taken to prevent his escape, we mounted the elephant, and the tiger was roused by a rattle of 'tom-toms' and a wild shout from the beaters. He was on foot in a moment, and, with a loud roar, dashed from the ravine, and took away across country at a lopping gallop.

"The elephant was badly placed, and the tiger passed us at a distance of 150 yards, going at a pace which rendered the chances of hitting him very slight indeed. Two balls rang among the rocks close behind him; and just as he was topping the hill, a long rifle-shot appeared to touch him, for a short angry roar was borne back upon the breeze, and the beaters made signs that he was hit. We followed at the best pace old 'Anak' could muster, and on reaching the summit of the hill, saw the tiger slowly stealing down a ravine on the opposite side. He was out of shot, and we halted to mark him down, and to send the beaters to a place of safety; for he was evidently wounded, and therefore dangerous. One man alone, intoxicated with opium, disregarded every warning signal. The tiger was going straight towards him. We called and beckoned in vain. The infatuated wretch drew his sword, and waved it in defiance, while we saw the fatal crisis approaching, and could do nothing to save him.

"Elliot ordered the 'mahout' to urge the elephant forward at his utmost speed. I shall never forget the excitement of that moment. My brother and I, both novices in tiger-hunting, were almost in a rabid state; and in our anxiety to rescue the doomed wretch from his impending fate, we stamped with impatience, and abused the driver for not exerting himself sufficiently, although he was plying the goad with all his strength, and making the blood flow, and extorting a scream of pain from the unfortunate elephant at every stroke.

"But all was in vain. Before we were half-way down

the hill, the tiger had caught sight of the poor helpless drunkard, standing directly in his path, and his doom was sealed. He might still have made an effort to escape, for he had a long start ; but he appeared paralysed with fear when he saw the tiger making directly towards him with terrific bounds. The brute was upon him with the speed of light. We saw him rear for an instant over his victim, who attempted to defend himself with his sword and shield. One savage roar rang through the soul of the stricken wretch, and he was dashed to the ground, amidst a cloud of dust, through which we could just distinguish the agitated forms of the tiger and the wretched man, writhing like a crushed worm in his gripe. It was over in an instant. The tiger trotted off sulkily to a small patch of thorny bushes, and being now excited to madness by the taste of blood, stood boldly awaiting our attack. The elephant was pushed forward with all speed, the tiger roaring furiously as we advanced, and the moment his splendid head appeared a volley from six barrels sent him staggering back into the centre of the bush. He rallied instantly, and made a brilliant charge close up to the elephant's trunk, when he was again turned by a well-directed volley from the spare guns, and retreated growling to his lair.

"We now retired a short distance to reload, and when we advanced again, the tiger, although bleeding at every pore, rushed forth to meet us, as savage as ever. He was again turned before he could spring on the elephant, and again dragged forward his bleeding body to the charge, roaring as if his heart would burst with impotent rage. We now let him come up quite close, so that every ball might tell, and gave him shot after shot, till he crawled back exhausted into the bushes. We followed him up, and in a last expiring effort to reach the elephant, he was shot dead, while struggling to make good his charge. He was game to the last ; and Elliot, who has killed many tigers, says he never saw one die more gallantly.

"Having ascertained by poking him with a spear that the tiger was actually dead, we dismounted from the 'howdah,' and leaving the 'mahout' to reward his unwieldy pet after his exertions by giving him balls of sugar dipped in the tiger's blood, went to look after the unfortunate beater who had been struck down. We found him lying under a bush, in a dying state, and a more frightful spectacle I never beheld. His lower jaw was carried away, as if he had been struck by a cannon-ball, his cheek bones were crushed to pieces, and the lacerated muscles of the throat hung down over his chest. So dreadful was the injury that literally nothing of the face was left below the eyes. He appeared quite sensible, poor fellow, and made frantic signs for water, whilst his blood-shot eyes, rolling wildly, imparted to the head the most ghastly expression I ever beheld. It was, of course, impossible to afford him the slightest relief, and death soon put an end to his sufferings.

"I was much struck with the extraordinary apathy of the natives on this occasion. Many of them passed the mangled body of their companion with a careless glance, merely remarking 'that it was his fate'; and those who remained to witness his dying struggles evinced no more feeling for him than if he had been a dog, unless their suggestion that we should put an end to his misery by shooting him through the head might be considered as such. The poor fellow himself intimated by signs that he wished us to do so; but we could not, of course, comply with his request.

"The important operation of singeing the tiger's whiskers having been performed by the oldest native hunter, the carcass was laid upon a cart drawn by six bullocks, and decorated with flags, and was thus dragged home in triumph. On skinning the tiger, we found sixteen balls lodged in his body, most of which had entered his chest, a strong proof of the extraordinary tenacity of life possessed by these animals."

The following extract may be considered superfluous, but I think it will be read with interest :—

“Dharwar, April 5th.—I have this morning made the acquaintance of a remarkable character. Allow me to introduce him. I was sitting in the verandah after breakfast, smoking a cheroot, admiring a magnificent bison's head which hung over the doorway, and longing to have a day fixed for our expedition to the great western forest, where I hoped to earn a similar trophy for myself, when a strange wild figure, armed with a matchlock of unusual length, entered the gate of the ‘compound,’ and advanced towards me at an easy sling-trot, keeping his eyes fixed upon the ground, and instead of following the path, swerving to the right and left, as if seeking for something he had lost.

“His wild air and strange motions led me to suspect he was deranged, and my suspicions were not diminished when, on catching a glimpse of Ravenscroft's tame deer, the trail of which the old savage had, from the force of habit, been following up, he uttered a wild whoop, levelled his matchlock as if about to fire, then, with a low chuckling laugh, recovered the weapon, threw it across his shoulder, and stepping up to me with a broad grin, extended his long skinny paw in token of friendship.

“We had exchanged civilities—for my savage friend was remarkably courteous in his manner—and were trying, but in vain, to make ourselves intelligible to each other, when Elliot, who happened to enter the verandah, sprang forward with an exclamation of joyful recognition, and shaking the old man cordially by the hand, introduced him to me as his particular friend, ‘Kamah, the Jagheerdar.’

“This, then, was the renowned Kamah—the bloodhound of the western forest; that prince of trackers, of whose fame I had heard so much, and whose exploits had formed the subject of my waking dreams for the last month; and it was with feelings very much akin to those I experienced on first beholding our immortal ‘Iron Duke’

that I now gazed on the swarthy features and eagle eye of this great general of the wilderness.

“While the stark old hunter was engaged in earnest conversation with Elliot, I had a good opportunity of scanning his figure and accoutrements. He was a tall, wiry man, apparently about sixty years of age, and looked as if hard exercise and constant exposure to a tropical sun had completely dried up the juices and softer particles of his frame, leaving nothing but bone, sinew, and muscle. His step had all the freedom and elasticity of youth ; and there was an air of dignity about the old man, a stateliness of carriage, and a look of proud self-possession in his piercing eye, that marked him at once for a free denizen of the forest—one of nature’s aristocracy.

“His dress and accoutrements were quite in keeping with his general appearance. A greasy skull-cap, which had once boasted a variety of gaudy colours, covered his woolly pate, now grizzled by age ; a narrow strip of cotton cloth passed between his legs and fastened to a girdle round his loins was the only piece of dress exclusively devoted to purposes of decency. But a coarse blanket or ‘cumbley’ of goat’s hair was thrown jauntily across his left shoulder, partly for effect, and partly to be used in case of wet weather, or to serve as a protection against the dew when sleeping in the open air. On his left side was suspended a pouch of dressed leopard skin, containing his bullets, tobacco, and materials for striking a light ; and on the right he carried his powder-flask, formed of the shell of a small cocoa-nut, covered with antelope skin, and secured by a wooden stopper. A venerable-looking matchlock, richly ornamented with brass, a small hatchet, and a well-worn creese thrust into his belt, completed his accoutrements. But what struck me most forcibly in his appearance was the decidedly African cast of his features, and the woolly texture of his hair—peculiarities unknown among the native tribes of India.

“This was afterwards explained by Elliot, who informed

me that Kamah was in reality an African, or 'Seedee,' one of a remarkable tribe inhabiting the Western Forest, and said to be descended from runaway African slaves, who fled from the early Portuguese settlers at Goa, and established a little colony in the heart of the jungles, where they continue to support themselves by hunting and rearing a few tame buffaloes."

I omit the detailed account of the sport that followed, and pass to an extract which I reproduce as showing Elliot's habits in the jungle. After an animal was shot it was promptly measured, and all peculiarities noted. Sir Walter left many volumes of manuscript natural history notes besides the "miscellaneous volumes" from which are taken the fragments now published.

"*Hunting Camp, April 8th (1831).*—My brother succeeded in killing the old buck of the herd, which he had followed; and Elliot brought home a wild boar. The others had fired several shots, but returned without any game. As soon as we had finished breakfast, the whole party sallied forth to examine the dead bison, piloted by the Jagheerदार, and accompanied by a party of 'coolies' to carry home the heads.

Having taken exact measurement of the animals, made a rough sketch of them, and noted down their peculiarities—according to the directions of Elliot, who is a zealous naturalist, and has kindly adopted me as a pupil—we proceeded to decapitate our victims. . . ."

I cannot, while sparing readers the accounts of sporting adventures which would be out of place in a short biographical sketch, refrain from reproducing an anecdote by Col. Campbell of the celebrated Kamah.

"Elliot, being senior sportsman of the party, has adopted me as his pupil in woodcraft, and availed himself of the opportunity, while we were smoking our cheroots after dinner, to give me some useful hints. Among other things he particularly cautioned me against bullying the Jagheerदार, or giving him brandy, for which he has an inordinate

liking. 'For,' continued Elliot, 'he becomes a thorough savage when excited either by ardent spirits or his own evil passions, and on such occasions is rather given to the use of lethal weapons. In proof of this I shall relate an anecdote of him which occurred during my last visit to the jungles. The Colonel of a British regiment accompanied me, and brought with him an English servant to look after his guns and horses. The Englishman had picked up enough of the native language to make himself understood, and the Jagheerdar and he were at first sworn friends and boon companions. But on one occasion I imprudently gave them some brandy to regale themselves after a hard day's work. They sat late and drank deep, and having quarrelled over their cups, old Kamah instinctively drew his knife; but before he could use it, by a well-directed blow between the eyes, was felled to the ground and disarmed. The crafty savage, finding himself inferior in physical strength to his more muscular antagonist, affected to yield to him with good grace, and by next morning the open-hearted Englishman had half-forgotten and quite forgiven the savage conduct of his swarthy friend, to whom he returned the knife, with a good-humoured laugh at the old fellow's swollen face and half-closed eyes. Not so Kamah. The insult offered to his African features rankled in his breast, and he thirsted for revenge. We had arranged on that day to drive the jungles for game, and the Englishman volunteered to assist as a beater. In the midst of the beat he heard the report of a matchlock behind him, and a bullet, whistling close to his ear, lodged in the stem of a tree within an inch of his head.

"'Too near to be pleasant!' thought he, as he started up with a round oath, and shouted to the invisible marksman to 'mind his eye.' At the same moment old Kamah stepped from behind a bush within fifty yards of where he stood, and coming up to him with a broad grin, extended his hand in the most friendly manner, telling him at the

same time, as if it were a capital joke, that it was he who fired the shot, in revenge for the blow he had received the night before ; but was now satisfied the Englishman was either a Swamy* or bore a charmed life, for that he had never before missed so fair a mark ; and humbly begged leave to shake hands and make friends with so gifted an individual. Honest John could not see the force of this reasoning ; neither did he at all relish the joke, which appeared to tickle old Kamah's fancy so much. But thinking it safer to have him for a friend than a foe, particularly in thick cover, he at last agreed to shake hands ; and considering it unworthy of an Englishman to bear malice, was from that time forth on as friendly terms as ever with the Jagheerदार. But I have ever since been on my guard with the old savage ; and never allow him a drop of his favourite liquor as long as I remain in his neighbourhood."

Here is Campbell's enthusiastic description of an evening spent in Mr. Elliot's hunting camp.

"Reader, you have probably spent many a happy hour among your brother officers at the mess-table ; you may have shared in the fun and frolic of a hunting breakfast at Melton, or you may have enjoyed the social glee and brotherly fellowship of a masonic supper. Perhaps, like myself, you have tried them all, and have enjoyed each in their turn ; but unless you have visited the "Land of the Sun," you may depend upon it you have much to learn. If you wish to see sociability, comfort, and brotherly feeling ; if you want to learn what real good living is ; and if you appreciate agreeable society, tempered by sobriety and seasoned by wit, you must to the 'greenwood,' with a party of thoroughbred Indian sportsmen ; for there you will find them combined and in perfection.

"And here I must remark that by 'thoroughbred' I mean not only high-couraged and game to the backbone ;

* "Swamy," a god.

but well-informed, gentlemanlike, and agreeable, as, I am happy to say, my present companions are.

“I pray you, Friend, to fancy yourself returned from a fatiguing ramble in the forest, hot and dusty, but elate with success; that you have enjoyed a refreshing bath, and that, having exchanged your hunting dress for a light linen clothing and thrust your wearied feet into a pair of embroidered Indian slippers, you are seated in a large airy tent, the canvas walls of which are raised on one side to admit the refreshing breeze. The table is covered with the finest damask, and loaded with viands intermixed with plate and sparkling crystal. Take, for example, a haunch of venison, that would do no discredit to the best park in England; a cold wild boar’s head soused in vinegar; wild boar chops, combining the flavour of venison with that of the most delicate pork; a noble venison pasty, over which Friar Tuck would have pronounced a benison with watering lips; stews, curries, and ragouts, composed of every variety of small game, and cunningly devised by Elliot’s incomparable artiste, the Portuguese ‘babachee’* ; marrow bones of bison and deer, and a dozen other sylvan dainties too numerous to mention. A host of native servants, clothed in white muslin, with scarlet turbans and sashes, stand around, watching with anxious looks to anticipate your slightest wish; and in a remote corner you may observe a dusky figure (the high priest of Bacchus) squatted on his heels, and intent on cooling to the exact pitch some dozen long-necked bottles, that conjure up visions of ruby claret and sparkling champagne. The bronzed features of your companions, glowing with healthful excitement, and beaming with good fellowship, smile around the hospitable board. And the gay scene is lighted up by a profusion of wax candles in tall glass shades, to protect them from the gentle breathing of the night air, which, playing round the tent, fans your heated blood into refreshing coolness.

“Fancy yourself snugly ensconced in an arm-chair,

* “Bawarchee,” a cook.

recounting your own adventures, and listening to those of your brother sportsmen. Fancy the interesting discussions, the comparing of notes and drawings that takes place between the scientific members of the party, and the good-humoured jokes that are bandied among the less learned but lighter-hearted youngsters. Fancy all this, friend, and say if you can imagine anything more delightful than the mode of life of an Indian hunting party."

On April 9th, Campbell pens the following anecdote :

"I witnessed this evening a curious method of hunting practised by the natives, which I must attempt to describe. We were sitting in front of the tent after dinner, the happy camp-followers—happy, because idle and gorged with venison—had sung themselves to sleep, and deep silence brooded over the woods, save when the whine of a panther or the distant roar of a wandering tiger, was borne on the night wind from the deepest recesses of the forest ; or the sullen plunge of an alligator was more distinctly heard in the neighbouring river.

"The moon had not yet risen ; and the landscape was shrouded in darkness, except in our immediate neighbourhood, where the bickering light of our camp-fire fell upon the corpse-like figures of the sleeping natives, swathed in their white robes ; and lighted up with picturesque effect the gnarled stem and spreading boughs of a stately teak-tree from which were suspended the carcasses of several deer, the grim head of a bull bison, and other trophies of the chase.

"No one spoke ; for each and all of us experienced that delightful sensation of perfect repose, that luxurious lassitude, which can only be experienced by one who has braved the almost intolerable glare of an Indian sun, and can only be enjoyed under the serene sky and amidst the balmy freshness of an Indian night.

"I was fast sinking into a dreamy reverie, now tracing fantastic shapes in the light wreaths of vapour which curled upwards from my glowing 'chillum,' and now con-

trasting the air of comfort and elegance presented by the interior of our gaily-lighted tent, with the deep gloom of the surrounding forest, when I was startled by hearing the distant sound of a bell; and on looking in the direction from whence it proceeded, I discovered far back in the woods, a brilliant light flitting among the trees.

"I immediately called Elliot's attention to this unusual appearance.

"'It is some poaching fellows from the village,' he replied, 'blazing deer. I wish they would keep nearer home, and not destroy the game in the neighbourhood of our camp.'

"'Blazing deer!' I exclaimed, 'and to the sound of a bell? This is surely a strange style of hunting!'

"'Have you never heard of it before?' asked Elliot.

"'Never,' I replied.

"'Then it is well worth seeing, arrant poaching though it be; and if you do not mind the trouble of slipping on your boots and shooting-jacket, we may have a look at these fellows before we go to bed.'

"I was delighted to avail myself of Elliot's offer, and guided by the light and the sound of the bell, we soon overtook two natives busily engaged in their nocturnal sport. One of them carried in his hand a bell, which he kept constantly ringing, and on his head was fastened a small brazier filled with glowing charcoal. In the deep gloom of the forest he presented the wildest and most fantastic appearance that can be imagined, and brought vividly to my recollection the descriptions I have read of the mad enthusiast, Solomon Eagle, who made himself so conspicuous during the great plague in London. His companion, an active, wiry little savage, with an eye like a lynx, was merely armed with a heavy curved weapon—something between a cook's chopping knife and a sword—as sharp as a razor and commonly known in India as a Coorg-knife.

"Being both inhabitants of the Jagheerdar's village, and

personally known to Elliot, they were much flattered by our proposal to join in their sport ; and we had soon an opportunity of witnessing their skill in this very curious method of hunting.

“ The man who carries the fire and the bell moves slowly and cautiously through the thickets, ringing as he goes ; while his companion follows close behind him, keeping a sharp look-out ahead. The deer, alarmed by the sound of the bell, start from their hiding-places ; but, bewildered, and apparently fascinated by the glare of the burning charcoal—which dazzles their sight, and prevents them from distinguishing the forms of the hunters—they approach the object of their wonder, as if under the influence of a spell. The light reflected from their staring eyeballs discovers their presence to the hunters. Solomon Eagle comes to a halt and ceases to ring his bell, while his active companion, stealing round the bewildered animals, attacks them in the rear, and with his formidable Coorg-knife, hamstringing as many as he can reach, before they become aware of their danger, and fly from the treacherous light.

“ In this manner we saw three deer destroyed within an hour ; and our poaching friends would, no doubt, have done further execution had we not bribed them to discontinue their sport, by inviting them to return to camp, and partake of a glass of their favourite brandy.”

The party enjoyed the excitement of a “beat” on a grand scale, carefully arranged by Mr. Elliot, as appears from the following passage.

“ *April 13th.*—Elliot, being anxious to show me as much as possible of Indian sporting, gave orders for a grand beat to take place this morning, in the Oriental style.

“ Messengers were despatched yesterday, to collect as many men as possible from the neighbouring villages ; and to-day we commenced work, after breakfast, with two hundred beaters in line, taking a circle of forest about a mile in diameter, at each beat. The natives are very fond of this style of sport, and engage in it with the utmost

spirit. The hunters best acquainted with the forest select the passes where the guns are to be posted. At each pass a light screen of branches is erected, and behind this the sportsman crouches, and remains perfectly still till the game is driven up to him. Unless closely pressed by beaters, the animals generally come up at a slow pace, carefully reconnoitring the ground as they advance, and thus afford an easy shot. But if a deer happens to dash past at a great pace, a whistle, or a clap of the hand, will generally make him stop for an instant to listen, and then is the moment for the grooved barrel to send its hissing ball with fatal precision."

I append a footnote written by Mr. Elliot in Col. Campbell's book to illustrate a phase of Indian sport with which he was entirely familiar. In this case the anecdote turns on Mr. Elliot's own experiences.

"The advantage to a sportsman of an elevated position cannot be doubted, not only for the reason given in the text, but because it presents a wider field of view, and affords earlier notice of the approach of game.

"Wild animals, moreover, not only smell danger—they see it, they hear it. The quickness of the senses of beasts of chase, and the readiness with which they detect an unusual sight or sound, is very remarkable. But there is one peculiarity in the exercise of their watchfulness. They never, unless specially attracted, look up. Their experience has been derived from dangers on foot, and their vigilance is therefore directed to objects on their own level. Hence the advantage of a post on a tree.

"The following instances illustrate these habits :—

"On one occasion, while shooting small game in a sparsely-wooded nullah near Hookairy, in the Kolapoor country, with the late George C., the author's brother (the most warm-hearted and affectionate of friends, the keenest and pluckiest of sportsmen), we came unexpectedly on a tiger. The beaters were instantly sent down, double quick, to cut off its retreat from the low country; whilst

* * *

George and I, each with a single attendant, ran to the head of a ravine, leaving orders to drive the tiger up. Near the top the nullah divided into two branches and then ceased; the intervening space to the summit of the ridge, distant about 100 yards, being quite bare. Each guarded one of the branches, selecting the largest bush that offered, for there were no trees. My post was in a karonda bush (*Carissa karondas*), about seven or eight feet high; and when I got on the top of it, kneeling on the shikari's blanket, with him holding a spare gun, our united weight brought us still lower. The tiger was soon on foot, and the luck was mine. It came up my branch, passing within ten or twelve yards, but so close that I was afraid to fire, lest it should turn to the shot and charge. I therefore let it pass, and fired just as it crowned the crest of the ridge. I knew from the sound that the ball had struck; but to my dismay, instead of falling or descending the other side, the brute wheeled round and rushed back. This time it came directly towards me. A collision seemed inevitable. Keeping perfectly still, and determined not to fire till the last moment, I watched its approach with the most intense anxiety, and saw its eyes glancing hurriedly from side to side. Down it came, brushing the very bush on which we sat, so that I could easily have touched it with my gun. Had it looked up, we could not have escaped; but though, from the inclination of the ground, it had been all the while immediately above us, so that it was hardly possible for it to miss seeing us, it never did. Sending a couple of shots after it, we found it lying dead at the foot of the hill. It was a fine tigress. The first shot had passed through her loins.

"Another time, at Kardagee, George and I had another impromptu rencontre with a tiger. This time we beat down the nullah, to the place where it opened on the cultivated plain, and where several fine trees offered excellent posts. The beat was long, the day was hot, and I had fallen asleep on my perch. A pressure of the arm

from my attendant awoke me, and I saw the tiger emerging stealthily from the cover within seventy or eighty yards. The click of the rifle-lock, although so slight a sound, caught his ear, amid the noonday silence of the jungle, when every creature is at rest. Instantly he stopped short, one foot raised in the act of advancing, and peered cautiously round on every side, but never looked up. So beautiful was the sight that I paused in admiration for several seconds before firing. Then, with a short roar, he bounded high in the air, the blood spouting from his mouth, and disappeared. George, who could see him from his post on the opposite side, shouted, 'Dead!' and descending we found that the ball had gone right through his heart." [W. E.]

Here follows a description of Mr. Elliot's hunting camp :—

"Elliot, being a civilian of some standing, travels with a retinue becoming his rank ; and although our party is now reduced to two, our followers on the line of march still present an imposing appearance. We have three tents—the mess tent, carried by camels, and two smaller tents, which we use as sleeping apartments, carried by bullocks.

"Our old elephant, 'Anak,' with his driver and another attendant, leads the procession. He is followed by four thoroughbred Arab horses, each attended by his groom and grass-cutter, with their wives and children. Then come the camel and tent bullocks, a squadron of native ponies, or 'tattoos,' loaded with baggage and trophies of the chase ; and some dozen 'coolies' bearing our beds, camp furniture, and 'cowrie-baskets.' The rear is brought up by a host of native servants, tent-pitchers, and nondescript camp-followers of every age and sex, occasionally intermixed with jugglers, snake-charmers, and dancing-girls, who join us at the various villages, in hopes of being allowed to exhibit at the next halting-place for the amusement of the 'Burrah-sahibs.' And the whole are under the charge of Elliot's two peons, or armed followers, who

are distinguished from other servants by wearing an embroidered shoulder-belt with a large silver breast-plate. The duties of a peon are very similar to those of a Highland chieftain's henchman of former days ; he attends his master on all occasions, carries his spare gun in hunting, scours the country in quest of game, acts as his confidential messenger, and, on approaching a village, runs before him, proclaiming his titles and shouting his praises. He is generally a fine, handsome fellow, and as consequential as a Highland piper.

“In the eyes of an European, it must appear strange and even absurd to see two young men, in weather-stained garments, leather leggings, and battered hunting-caps moving about the country with such a retinue of followers as I have enumerated. But the customs of the country, the nature of the climate, and the prejudices of the natives, which oblige them to close their doors against all Christians and other Kaffirs, render a large number of followers absolutely necessary to ensure anything like comfort on a march in India. A military man may—and indeed generally does—travel with only a small tent, in which he has hardly room to turn ; one horse, a single bullock to carry his baggage, three coolies bearing his bed and ‘cowrie-baskets,’ and two native servants, besides the horse-keeper and grass-cutter. But with this—the very smallest number of attendants a traveller can have—he is exposed to many discomforts. He must either accompany his people in their slow march, of some two miles an hour ; or if he chooses to ride on to the halting-place, he must sit for several hours under a tree, exposed to heat and dust, the attacks of ants, centipedes, and mosquitoes, and the intrusive curiosity of a host of gaping natives. When his patience is exhausted he may amuse himself and improve his already painfully good appetite, by rubbing down and dressing his horse till the baggage arrives ; and then he must wait at least another hour before the tent is pitched and breakfast prepared. Add to this, that if his single

horse happens to fall lame, he is obliged to trudge the hot dusty roads on foot; that, owing to the scantiness of his baggage, he is unable to carry either wine or beer—the latter being considered almost a necessary of life in India—and is therefore obliged to stint himself to a very small allowance of brandy-and-water, hardly strong enough to kill the animalculæ; and that, in spite of the utmost economy, he sometimes runs short even of this; and you have some of the discomforts resulting from a scanty train of followers. In the travelling camp of a rich civilian the case is widely different. Every luxury is there; and in the heart of the jungles you find as many comforts and have as good attendance as you could desire in the best regulated house.

“Immediately after dinner our mess-tent is struck, and sent on during the night to the next halting-ground with a set of servants appointed for this duty. After smoking our hookah and sipping our coffee, we retire, each to his own little tent, where we find a comfortable bed and dressing apparatus prepared. And next morning, at daybreak, after another cup of hot coffee, we mount our horses and canter on to the next stage, where we find a large roomy tent pitched, carpets spread, tables laid out with books and writing materials, clean clothes and bathing materials prepared, and our well-groomed horses fresh and ready for any work we may have for them during the day.

“Having bathed and refreshed ourselves, breakfast is the cry; and, at the word, a host of obsequious natives appear, bearing curries and pillaws, eggs, omelets, dried fish, sardines, and venison cutlets; claret, green tea and coffee, iced water and fruit, and other luxuries, which none but an Indian breakfast can boast. By the time breakfast is finished, and the fragrant hookah discussed, the followers have arrived, and the remainder of the camp is pitched; and thus we move along, by easy stages, enjoying healthful exercise with constant change of scene; and finding everything as comfortable and well-arranged as if the tents had never been moved. Another important advantage of

travelling with a civilian is this, that being looked upon in the light of a Rajah, every man, woman, and child in the district is the humble and willing slave of 'His Mightiness.' If he be a sportsman—and few young civilians in India are not—the native huntsmen of the different villages, hearing of his approach, are almost sure to have a tiger, a 'sounder' of wild hog, or some other large game, marked down previous to his arrival; and a word to the obsequious Ameldar ensures the services of every male inhabitant of the village to act as beaters. And so we travel in princely style, receiving homage from the dignitaries of each village, and finding bears, tigers, and wild hog awaiting our pleasure at almost every stage."

I insert the next anecdotes, as showing that Mr. Elliot was as good on a horse as he was with a rifle.

"*April 23rd.*—Elliot and I fell in with a 'sounder' of hog this morning, on our way back from a neighbouring village, where he had been to transact some business. We fortunately had our hunters and spears with us, and soon collected a number of country people to drive them out of a field of grain in which they had taken refuge. We let the 'sounder' get well away, in hopes of a boar being left behind in the grain; but none appearing we laid into the largest sow at a pace that soon brought us alongside of her. Challenger went well, and this, being his first trial, pleases me much. He shows great speed, is perfectly temperate, and turns well in a snaffle, which is a qualification of the utmost importance in a hog-hunter. I ought to have taken the first spear easily; but being a novice in the use of the weapon I missed my thrust, smashed my spear-head among the stones, nearly lost my seat, and was cut out by Elliot on a much slower horse.

"We had hardly reached the tents when we were met by a 'peon' with the welcome intelligence of a large boar wallowing in a small lake within half a mile of the tents.

"Spears and fresh horses were quickly produced, and we had just mounted, when a horseman galloped up and

announced a tiger marked down in the opposite direction. We were now embarrassed with too much good news ; but we speedily decided in favour of the tiger, and in less than an hour were seated on the back of our trusty friend 'Anak,' and listening to the shouts of the beaters as they drove the tiger towards us. He came up boldly, and was almost abreast of us, when, unfortunately, the elephant trumpeted, and spoilt all. The tiger instantly turned, and galloped back, at his best pace, to some impenetrable covert ; and the flying shots we sent after him in his retreat only knocked up the gravel about his heels without doing him any harm. Every attempt to burn him out or force the elephant in was equally unavailing, for the bushes were green, and the tangled thicket perfectly impenetrable ; and after expending all our fireworks, we were obliged to give in and leave him.

" *April 25th.*—Fortune favoured us to-day, three tigers having been found by the merest chance, when it appeared more than probable that we must return empty-handed. Elliot and I rode out at daylight to reconnoitre the country where our people had been sent the day before to look for tigers. We were holding a consultation with old Bussapa, who was quite in low spirits, having failed in discovering any fresh tracks ; and we had just decided on trying new ground, when a tigress, with two well-grown cubs, nearly as large as herself, came down from the hills and quietly walked into a ravine within a few hundred yards of us. All was speedily arranged, the elephant posted in a good position, markers placed on every rising ground commanding the ravine, and the beaters drawn up ready to act. The signal was given. In went a flight of rockets accompanied by the true 'shikar' yell, and the tigress was afoot, trotting towards us. We let her come up within ten yards, and then, as she stood hesitating whether to charge or turn back upon the beaters, we gave her a volley that sent her down upon her haunches. She instantly rallied, and laid up in one of the strong coverts of the ravine. The two

cubs galloped past together, roaring so loud that the elephant became alarmed, and wheeled round at the moment when we were about to fire. This disconcerted our aim, and they escaped, one untouched and the other slightly wounded in the hind-quarter. The wounded cub crept, growling, into the first thick bush he reached, and was marked down by one of the look-out men; and there we left him to his meditations while we disposed of the old tigress. Little search was required to find her; she came boldly forth to meet us, received our fire, and dashed at the elephant without flinching, although she was severely hit, and was obliged to climb a high bank to reach him. A ball between the eyes dropped her, when in the act of springing on the elephant, and she rolled into the ravine dead."

I insert an account of Mr. Elliot's first success with bison. It is given by Col. Campbell in the former's own words.

"Crossing the river in a canoe, we * struck into the forest, and soon came upon a track which Kamah pronounced to be that of an old bull. On this he proceeded with the steadiness and sagacity of a bloodhound, though it was often imperceptible to our eyes; at times, when a doubt caused us to stop, he made a cast, and on recovering the trail, summoned us to proceed by a low whistle, or by imitating the cry of the spotted deer, for not a word was spoken, and the most perfect silence was enjoined. We followed his steps three miles to the river, then along the bank towards Dandilly, where the animal appeared to have crossed to the opposite side. Wading across and holding our guns and ammunition over our heads, we ascended the bank of a small island, covered with thick underwood and some large trees, among which the bull had lain down, about fifteen yards from where we stood. The jungle was so thick that we found it difficult to distinguish more than a great black mass among the underwood.

* Mr. Elliot and a friend.

"On firing, the animal got on his legs, received two more balls, and rushed into the jungle, where he became very furious; and we were obliged to shelter ourselves behind trees to avoid the repeated charges he made, though one ball through the shoulder, which had broken the bone above the elbow, prevented his moving with facility. He then became exhausted, and lay down, snorting loudly, and rising to charge when any one approached. A ball in the forehead caused him to roll over the precipitous bank into the river. Still, however, he was not dead; and several balls were fired into his forehead, behind the ear, and at the junction of the head and neck, before life became extinct. One ball, which had struck the vertebræ of the neck, was taken out almost pulverized. When drawn ashore and examined more minutely, the first sentiment produced in all present was astonishment at his immense bulk; his breadth and weight seemed so great that he looked like a young elephant."

Mr. Elliot appended the following note to a remark of Col. Campbell's.

"I have witnessed instances of crafty concert on the part of the wolf. On one occasion three gazelles passed just ahead of me at full speed, pursued by a single wolf, towards a nullah a little below me. Two of the gazelles bounded up the ascent on the other side, but neither the third nor the wolf appeared. Anxious to see what had become of them, I cantered down to the spot where they had crossed. There I found the poor antelope in the jaws of three wolves, which took to flight on seeing me, and left the venison at my disposal. The wolves had clearly been hunting on a preconcerted plan; two of them having lain *perdu* in the nullah, whilst the third undertook to drive the antelope to the spot where their hidden assailants could spring on them with advantage. [W.E.]"

The last extract which I shall give shows the costume worn by Englishmen in the Indian jungles in the thirties, sixty years ago. To our modern ideas it seems extra-

ordinary that such a garb should have been chosen, for the heat must have been intense, and the covering for the head most insufficient. This is Campbell's description of his own appearance as he rode back to the camp of his corps during the hottest time of the afternoon on the 31st of May, 1834—the hottest period of the year. Elliot's dress must of course have been similar.

“ On riding up to the regimental mess-tent, I found my brother officers seated in front of it, sipping their claret, and smoking their cheroots, and I was forthwith surrounded by a group of light-hearted ‘subs,’ who welcomed my return with three cheers for ‘The Jungle Wallah,’ and then, without any apparent cause, burst into fits of uncontrollable laughter. The melancholy procession I had met on entering the camp had not attuned my heart to mirth. I felt as though I had entered the house of mourning, and the joyous laugh of my young companions grated harshly on my ear. But a moment's reflection, and a glance at my uncouth garments, which contrasted strangely enough with the trim scarlet jackets and spotless white trousers of my brother officers, at once explained the cause of their mirth; and I was fain to join in the laugh against myself as heartily as any one.

“ The fact is, I have lived so much in the jungles of late, and my eye has become so accustomed to the strange dress and accoutrements of an Indian hunter, that, till the moment I halted in front of the mess-tent, I had never bestowed a thought on the Robinson-Crusoe-like figure I presented, nor the impropriety, in a military point of view, of thus appearing in camp to report myself to a superior officer.

“ Fancy a dust-begrimed figure, with a face tanned to the colour, and nearly to the consistency, of an old buff jerkin, seated on a handsome Arab horse, but clothed in an old, greasy fustian jacket, with brown cord breeches to match, without either neckcloth or waistcoat, his head covered by a hunting-cap of half-dressed buffalo leather, and his legs cased in long leggings of deer skin, a belt of

leopard-skin buckled round his waist, supporting on one side an ammunition pouch of the same material, and on the other a long hunting-knife with a buck-horn handle mounted in silver, a double-barrelled rifle slung at his back, and a hog-spear grasped in his right hand; fancy the half-cleaned skull of a wolf protruding its grinning muzzle from under the flap of one holster, and the tail of a rare species of squirrel, picked up on the line of march, dangling from the other: and you will have some idea of my personal appearance, and of what the senior subaltern of the Light Company should *not* look like when he joins his regiment on service."

I should not omit to mention that in 1826 Walter Elliot had made the acquaintance of Mountstuart Elphinstone, whom he met at Sattara. In 1828 he met Sir John Malcolm at Bijapur, and very favourably impressed the governor. In 1832 he made a tour in Gujarat of six months' duration, and kept a capital journal, which is still in existence, and must be full of interest.

It must not be supposed that Mr. Elliot's sole occupations during this first period were sport and the office. Far from it. He was assiduous in collecting antiquities, as well as in carefully observing the natural history of the country. He obtained the information subsequently embodied in his Catalogue of the Mammalia inhabiting the region, and was engaged in close archæological studies. In 1836 the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal* contains a paper by him on Hindu Inscriptions, and the then little known ancient dynasties of the Dakhan; and he sent with it two manuscript volumes containing nearly 600 copies of inscribed stones, which he had come across between 1823 and 1833. He was one of the earliest contributors to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, started in 1832, and he was mainly instrumental in founding the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. His papers on historical subjects constituted a standard work of reference on the subject for many years.

Leaving Bombay on furlough on December 11th, 1833, he spent the first year and a half of his leave in prolonged travel, arriving in England only on May 5th, 1835. The journey was begun in company with Robert Pringle, of the Bombay Civil Service. They went up the Red Sea in the cruiser *Coote* (Captain Rose), touching at the ports of Jidda and Mocha. At Mocha the travellers were compelled to leave the ship, which was detained there in consequence of the Bedouins having expelled Muhammad Ali's garrison, and plundered the place. They crossed in a tender to Massowa, on the Abyssinian coast, where Captain Moeresby was surveying in the *Benares*, made the best of their way up the coast, and recrossed to Jidda, where they joined the Company's steamer, *Hugh Lindsay*, and proceeded to Kossair. Landing there they rode across the desert to Thebes. During this journey Elliot met Dr. Joseph Wolff, the celebrated missionary, who sailed in the ship from Bombay.

After seeing the wonders of Thebes, Mr. Elliot and Mr. Pringle descended the Nile to Cairo, and thence crossed the desert of El Arish to the Holy Land. Here they joined the Hon. Robert Curzon (the late Lord Zouche) and Sir Robert Palmer; and the party of four visited Nazareth, the Dead Sea, the Haurán, Lebanon, and Damascus, arriving at Jerusalem in time for the Easter week celebrations at the Holy Sepulchre. Here Mr. Elliot was present at a terrible tragedy which occurred at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on Good Friday (1834), at the festival of the Descent of the Holy Fire, when five hundred people were crushed to death. An account of this affair is given in Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant*, and it is so interesting that I make no apology for reproducing it.*

* In Miss Beaufort's *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines* is a detailed and graphic description of the Easter celebrations at Jerusalem in 1860, which might be referred to. Very well told, too, is the account of the same by Lieut. Conder in his *Tent-work in Palestine*. Another writer who was present at the tragedy in 1834 was Dr. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 679).

"It was on Friday, the 3rd of May, that my companions and myself went, about five o'clock in the evening, to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where we had places assigned to us in the gallery of the Latin monks, as well as a good bedroom in their convent. The church was very full, and the numbers kept increasing every moment. . . . The behaviour of the pilgrims was riotous in the extreme; the crowd was so great, that many persons actually crawled over the heads of others, and some made pyramids of men by standing on each others' shoulders, as I have seen them do at Astley's. . . . Altogether it was a scene of disorder and profanation which it is impossible to describe. In consequence of the multitude of people and the quantities of lamps, the heat was excessive, and a steam arose which prevented your seeing clearly across the church. But every window and cornice, and every place where a man's foot could rest, excepting the gallery—which was reserved for Ibrahim Pasha and ourselves—appeared to be crammed with people; for 17,000 pilgrims were said to be in Jerusalem, almost the whole of whom had come to the Holy City for no other reason but to see the sacred fire. . . . The people were by this time become furious; they were worn out with standing in such a crowd all night, and as the time approached for the exhibition of the holy fire they could not contain themselves for joy. Their excitement increased as the time for the miracle, in which all believed, drew near. At about one o'clock the Patriarch went into the ante-chapel of the Sepulchre, and soon after a magnificent procession moved out of the Greek chapel. It conducted the Patriarch three times round the tomb; after which he took off his outer robes of cloth of silver, and went into the sepulchre, the door of which was then closed. The agitation of the pilgrims was now extreme; they screamed aloud; and the dense mass of people shook to and fro like a field of corn in the wind. There is a round hole in one part of the chapel over the sepulchre, out of which the holy fire is given; and up to this the man who

had agreed to pay the highest sum for the honour was conducted by a strong guard of soldiers. There was silence for a minute ; and then a light appeared out of the tomb, and the happy pilgrim received the holy fire from the Patriarch within. It consisted of a bundle of thin wax candles, lit and inclosed in an iron frame to prevent their being torn asunder and put out in the crowd ; for a furious battle commenced immediately, every one being so eager to obtain the holy light, that one man put out the candle of his neighbour in trying to light his own. . . . Soon you saw the lights increasing in all directions, every one having lit his candle from the holy flame : the chapels, the galleries, and every corner where a candle could possibly be displayed, immediately appeared to be in a blaze. The people in their frenzy put the bunches of lighted tapers to their faces, hands, and breasts, to purify themselves from their sins. . . .

“ In a short time the smoke of the candles obscured everything in the place, and I could see it rolling in great volumes out at the aperture at the top of the dome. The smell was terrible ; and three unhappy wretches, overcome by heat and bad air, fell from the upper range of galleries, and were dashed to pieces on the heads of the people below. One poor Armenian lady, seventeen years of age, died where she sat, of heat, thirst, and fatigue.

After a while, when he had seen all there was to be seen, Ibrahim Pasha got up and went away, his numerous guards making a line for him by main force through the dense mass of people which filled the body of the church. As the crowd was so immense, we waited for a little while, and then set out all together to return to our convent. I went first and my friends followed me, the soldiers making way for us across the church. I got as far as the place where the Virgin is said to have stood during the crucifixion, when I saw a number of people lying on one another all about this part of the church, and as far as I could see towards the door. I made my way between

them as well as I could, till they were so thick that there was actually a great heap of bodies on which I trod. It then suddenly struck me they were all dead! I had not perceived this at first, for I thought they were only very much fatigued with the ceremonies, and had lain down to rest themselves there; but when I came to so great a heap of bodies I looked down at them, and saw that sharp, hard appearance of the face which is never to be mistaken. Many of them were quite black with suffocation, and farther on were others all bloody and covered with the brains and entrails of those who had been trodden to pieces by the crowd.

"At this time there was no crowd in this part of the church; but a little farther on, round the corner towards the great door, the people, who were quite panic-struck, continued to press forward, and every one was doing his utmost to escape. The guards outside, frightened at the rush from within, thought that the Christians wished to attack them, and the confusion soon grew into a battle. The soldiers with their bayonets killed numbers of fainting wretches, and the walls were bespattered with blood and brains of men who had been felled, like oxen, with the butt-ends of the soldiers' muskets. Every one struggled to defend himself or to get away, and in the *mêlée* all who fell were immediately trampled to death by the rest. So desperate and savage did the fight become, that even the panic-struck and frightened pilgrims appear at last to have been more intent upon the destruction of each other than desirous to save themselves.

"For my part, as soon as I perceived the danger, I had cried out to my companions to turn back, which they had done; but I myself was carried on by the press till I came near the door, where all were fighting for their lives. Here, seeing certain destruction before me, I made every endeavour to get back. An officer of the Pasha's, who by his star was a colonel or *binbashee*, equally alarmed with myself, was also trying to return; he caught hold of my

cloak or bournouse, and pulled me down on the body of an old man who was breathing out his last sigh. As the officer was pressing me to the ground, we wrestled together among the dying and the dead with the energy of despair. I struggled with this man till I pulled him down, and happily got again upon my legs (I afterwards found that he never rose again), and scrambling over a pile of corpses I made my way back into the body of the church, where I found my friends, and we succeeded in reaching the sacristy of the Catholics, and thence the room which had been assigned to us by the monks. The dead were lying in heaps, even upon the stone of unction; and I saw full four hundred wretched people, dead and living, heaped promiscuously one upon another, in some places above five feet high. Ibrahim Pasha had left the church only a few minutes before me, and very narrowly escaped with his life; he was so pressed upon by the crowd on all sides, and it was said attacked by several of them, that it was only by the greatest exertions of his suite, several of whom were killed, that he gained the outer court. He fainted more than once in the struggle, and I was told that some of his attendants at last had to cut a way for him with their swords through the dense mass of the frantic pilgrims. . . .

“When the bodies were removed, many were discovered standing upright, quite dead; and near the church door one of the soldiers was found thus standing, with his musket shouldered, among the bodies, which reached nearly as high as his head; this was in a corner near the great door on the right side as you come in. It seems that this door had been shut, so that many who stood near it were suffocated in the crowd; and when it was opened, the rush was so great, that numbers were thrown down and never rose again, being trampled to death by the press behind them. The whole court before the entrance of the church was covered with bodies laid in rows, by the Pasha's orders, so that their friends might find them and carry them away. As we walked home we saw numbers of

people carried away, some dead, some horribly wounded and in a dying state, for they had fought with their heavy silver inkstands and daggers. . . .

“Three hundred was the number reported to have been carried out of the gates to their burial places that morning ; two hundred more were badly wounded, many of whom probably died, for there were no physicians or servants to attend them, and it was supposed that others were buried in the courts and gardens of the city by their surviving friends ; so that the precise number of those who perished was not known.”

From Jerusalem, Pringle and Elliot travelled through part of Asia Minor, visiting the Cyclades, the seven Churches, and Scutari, and proceeded to Constantinople. Thence they went to Athens, Corinth, Corfu, and finally Ancona. They arrived in Rome in December, 1834, and travelled slowly home, spending three months at Venice, Milan, Geneva, and Paris. From May, 1835, to October, 1836, Mr. Elliot remained at home, and then returned to India as private secretary to his cousin, Lord Elphinstone, who had received the appointment of Governor of Madras. The journey was made in the yacht *Prince Regent*, which the English Government was about to present to the Imám of Muscat. They arrived in Madras in February, 1837, and Mr. Elliot found himself fully occupied; for, in addition to the private secretaryship, he was in April made third member of the Board of Revenue, a high appointment for an officer of sixteen years' service, only ten of which had been spent at work in India. It is difficult to understand how the work required of these two offices could possibly be carried out by one man, and that man one whose only experience had been a ten years' residence in the Southern Mahratta country ; but it must be remembered that the duties of a member of the Board in those days were much less in amount than those of the present time, while Mr. Elliot was an exceptionally well-qualified officer from his intimate acquaintance with the natives. For the

next few years Mr. Elliot was employed in the quiet fulfilment of his duties, his linguistic attainments being recognised by his being appointed at one time Canarese translator, and at another Persian translator to Government.

The work was, however, agreeably diversified in his case by a journey taken to Malta in 1838, where he was married at the Government chapel (January 15th, 1839), to Maria Dorothea, daughter of Sir David Hunter-Blair, Bart, of Blairquhan.

During this period he sedulously pursued his investigations, becoming recognised as the leading authority in Southern India on antiquarian as well as scientific subjects.

In 1840 he passed several months on the Nilagiri Hills, in Southern India, and made copious notes on the numerous cromlechs and cairns which abound there. The result of this study formed the subject of a paper afterwards printed in the Transactions of the Third International Congress of Prehistoric Archæology, on "Ancient Sepulchral Remains."

The retirement of Lord Elphinstone in 1842 relieved Mr. Elliot from the post of private secretary, and thenceforth he was employed officially in the ordinary duties of a member of the Board of Revenue. In 1845 he was called on by the Government to discharge a very delicate and difficult mission. In the north-east of the Madras Presidency lies a large tract along the coast, which goes by the name of the Northern Sirkárs, and was held under the Muhammadan Government by a number of feudatory nobles called Zamindárs. The Zamindárs, whose tenure subjected them to an annual payment of fixed sums of Land Revenue to the State, had become much impoverished by a succession of bad seasons, during one of which the Guntur Sirkár had been visited by a famine of appalling severity. The wasteful extravagance of the nobles, the extortion practised by them, the corruption and frauds of the native officials, had all combined to add to the difficulties of the situation; and when in 1843 it became necessary to institute a com-

plete inquiry into the condition of this tract, Sir Henry Montgomery was sent to examine and report on the condition of one of these Sirkárs, which took its name from the ancient city of Rajahmahendri. On his return Mr. Elliot was appointed to carry out the same duty in Guntur, with instructions embracing a larger field connected with the past and present condition of the Zamindárs in the permanently settled estates, the institution of measures for the reform of the assessments by a survey of the Government lands, and the resumption of the estates of the defaulting land-holders. This was an arduous and delicate task; but at its close, Mr. Elliot found all his recommendations approved of and sanctioned, though modifications were made to the Zamindárs less liberal than the proposals which he had put forward. The Court of Directors pronounced (in their despatch of Jan. 31st, 1849) a high encomium on the manner in which this duty had been carried out; and a special new appointment was made, Mr. Elliot being created Commissioner of the whole of the Northern Sirkárs with extended powers in administrative matters. Into his sole hands, for subjects connected with the Land Revenue, were placed all the powers held by the Board, and he was granted a special honorarium of 1,000 rupees a month, in addition to his pay.

In the Sirkárs, therefore, Mr. Elliot remained in the performance of very laborious duties till 1854, when (August 16th), without any application on his part, he was appointed Member of Council in the Government of Madras, in succession to Sir J. V. Stonhouse. As it happened, the honour just at that moment was rather a burdensome one, and caused considerable disappointment, as the work of the past few years had seriously affected Mr. Elliot's health, and he had been ordered home on sick leave. This leave had to be curtailed, so that, after taking his seat in Council, Mr. Elliot went to England for only six months. Returning to duty in 1855, he remained at Madras, in the high and responsible position in which he had been placed, till

his retirement from the Service in 1860. To the stirring events of that period we shall presently return.

While in the Northern Sirkárs Mr. Elliot had continued his antiquarian researches, collecting a large number of the numerous inscriptions to be found there, principally of the Chalukyan and Pallava dynasties. Investigating, also, the natural history of the locality, he was constantly in communication with Professors Darwin, Owen, and other of the leading scientific men of the day. The results of his careful studies of Cetacea and Nudibranch Molluscs were published in the Transactions of the Zoological Society, by Professor Owen and the late Albany Hancock. Papers on fishes appeared in Dr. Day's work on the fishes of India; on reptiles in Dr. Gunther's "Reptiles of India;" on bats, in Dr. Dobson's monograph on "Asiatic Cheiroptera;" on Lepidoptera, and on Crustacea, in the volumes of Mr. Moore and Spencer Bate. Mr. Elliot gave Mr. Moore an extensive series of drawings of the metamorphoses of Lepidoptera, and to Dr. Day a quantity of drawings and specimens of Coromandel fishes. Valuable papers of his on Archæological matters appeared in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, which Mr. Elliot himself edited for three or four years, during its most prosperous period; and amongst others must be specially noted his "Numismatic Gleanings," which remained for many years the only paper of reference on South-Indian Coins, and has only really been superseded by his own large standard work on the subject, published in the "Numismata Orientalia" in 1886.

As regards Mr. Elliot's performance of the duties of the office of Senior Member of Council, I append an extract of a notice of him which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society:—"As a Member of the Council, Elliot's duties, though not more arduous, were of a more varied character than those which had devolved upon him as a Revenue Officer. While necessarily devoting much time and attention to, and bringing his long experience to bear

upon, the important Revenue questions which came before the Government from time to time, there were many other subjects of great public interest with which he was required, and was eminently qualified, to deal. Amongst these were the question of the education of the natives of India, and such matters as the relations of the British Government in India with Christian Missions on the one hand, and with the religious endowments of the Hindus and Muhammadans on the other hand. With the natives he had, throughout his service, maintained a free and friendly intercourse, recognising the many good qualities which they possess, and ever ready to promote measures for their benefit. Among those whom he regarded as valued and trusted friends, there was more than one native gentleman with whom he had been associated either in his official duties or in his literary and scientific researches. Native education was a subject to which Elliot had paid considerable attention when Private Secretary to Lord Elphinstone, under whose Government the first practical measures were taken for imparting instruction in Western literature and science to the natives of the Madras Presidency; and during the intervening years he had lost no opportunity of manifesting a warm interest in native schools. He had also been, throughout his Indian life, a cordial friend, and, in his private capacity a generous supporter of Christian Missions. One of the most valuable minutes recorded in the Council in connection with the working of the celebrated Education Despatch of 1854, and especially in connection with the development of the Grant-in-Aid system, of which he was a staunch advocate, proceeded from Elliot's pen."

Throughout his long life, with all its varied interests,—the love of research, the passion for sport, the patient toil of the office, and the keen excitement of the chase,—no side of Elliot's character stands out more prominently than his unwavering belief in the truths of Christianity. Firmly persuaded from his youth upwards that faith in Christ was the only safe and sure rule of life for himself and all men,

he earnestly desired to impart that belief to those around him, and yet never allowed his faith to lead him into intolerance. Amongst the good and earnest missionaries of his time he numbered many of his dearest friends; and his influence and his money were ever at the disposal of Societies and individuals engaged in true Christian work. The success of the Lawrence Asylum, a large institution on the Nilagiri Hills, which provides sound education and a comfortable home for a considerable number of poor European and Eurasian lads, is mainly attributable to Mr. Elliot's bountiful liberality, which however was, in a manner characteristic of him, so secretly exercised that few men interested in the work have ever known how much they were indebted to him.

Leaving for a time Mr. Elliot's official work in the later years of his career, I revert to his pursuit of knowledge after his departure for the North of the Madras presidency in 1845. It was in that year that he found himself for the first time in the district adjoining the great Krishnâ River. Here was a rich field for the study of antiquities, bordered as that river is with the remains of the religious edifices of all creeds since the Christian era; and here Mr. Elliot set himself, at his own cost, to excavate the buried remains of an ancient Buddhist Tope, known as the *Dîpâldinne*, at the village of Amarâvatî, about sixty-five miles up the river from its mouth. The Amarâvatî Tope had been discovered by a Rajah at the end of the last century, and reported on by Colonel Mackenzie, who visited the spot. A few years later, Colonel Mackenzie had applied himself in good earnest to the examination of the remains, and had catalogued and collected facsimile drawings of a large number of marble sculptures. Since then the place had been much injured by the native residents. As to the condition of the place when he first saw it in 1845, Sir Walter Elliot wrote to me in 1879 in the following terms:—

“I only knew of the existence of *Dîpâldinne* from Colonel Mackenzie's paper in the *Asiatic Researches*. When I

visited the spot I simply saw a rounded mound or hillock, with a hollow or depression at the summit, but without a vestige or indication of an architectural structure, or even a fragment of wrought stone, to show that a building had once stood there, every fragment of former excavations having been carried away and burnt into lime.* I began to dig quite haphazard, I think about the S.W. side of the mound; and the first object that rewarded my search was one of the lions lying prostrate that had surmounted the side of the entrance; I then uncovered some of the stones of the Rail standing upright, but not continuously, and penetrated into an apparent restoration of a part of the entrance, as if for the construction of a small temple out of the ruins of the main building. I made a rough sketch of this on the spot."

The late Mr. James Fergusson differed from Sir Walter as to the original shape of the Amarávatí Tope, but I have always adhered to the opinion,† having myself carried out further excavations on the spot in 1877, that the latter's view was correct, namely that there was a richly sculptured double rail of marble surrounding a solid dome of vast size which arose immediately within it, having its surface covered also with marble carved above in many places and entirely so round its base. The monument, when perfect, must have been one of the most remarkable and beautiful pieces of workmanship on the face of the globe.

The marbles discovered by Sir Walter Elliot were sent home by him to England, and remained first for many years uncared-for in the old India Office, whence they were removed, mainly at the instance of the late Mr. James Fer-

* The destruction and loss of the Amarávatí marbles, excavated previous to Sir Walter's visit, was most lamentable. Only about twenty-five are known to be in existence of those discovered by Colonel Mackenzie; and yet that officer left behind him detailed descriptions and drawings of 132 slabs, some of which were covered with sculpture of extraordinary excellence and beauty. [R. S.]

† Maintained in the "Report on the Amrávatí Tope, by R. Sewell," published in 1880 by order of the Secretary of State for India.

gusson, to the India Museum in South Kensington, and were finally sent to their present home in the British Museum, where they now line the walls of the grand staircase.

In 1848 Mr. Elliot published a valuable paper on the language of the Khonds, with a vocabulary; and on another occasion he brought out a carefully prepared vocabulary of the languages spoken by the Todas and other tribes on the Nilagiri Hills. He sent to England in 1860 a large number of valuable MSS., translations, drawings, and natural history collections, which were seriously injured, and some permanently destroyed, by being sent to sea in a vessel laden with sugar which shipped a great quantity of water in a hurricane off the Mauritius. With regard to this untoward event, Mr. Elliot wrote to an acquaintance in 1876, "I was very unfortunate in sending my things home from Madras in the beginning of 1860. The ship in which my agents despatched them, laden with sugar, was caught in a cyclone near Mauritius, shipped a great deal of water, which got through the tin cases in which my valuables were packed, and ruined most of my collections and all my books and papers. I was so disheartened at the loss of what I had fondly anticipated would have occupied me for years, that for a long time I could not bear to face my misfortune; but I find that even the *debris* are prized by persons to whom I have lately sent them. Some broken and half-dried tubes containing the remains of spiders I was persuaded to send to the Rev. O. P. Cambridge some weeks ago, and I was astonished to find that he could turn them to such account. Dr. Day persuaded me to let him take a few crania and skins of Indian rats and mice and some shrews to Professor Peters at Berlin; and though they were too few for him to found a paper on them, he has advised me to get more specimens from India myself and bring them before the Zoological Society. . . ."

In 1859 Mr. Elliot published his *Flora Andhrika*, giving

corresponding Telugu and botanical names to the plants in the Telugu country.

I now revert to the closing scenes of Mr. Elliot's Indian career. He became a Member of Council in the Government of Fort St. George in 1854, and shortly afterwards was elevated to the rank of Senior Member. Then came the stirring period of English history which began with the Crimean War in 1854, and continued for several years. Hardly had the rejoicings in England consequent on the proclamation of peace with Russia died away when the nation was convulsed by tidings of the Indian Mutiny; and, as months passed by, trembled, on the arrival of each mail, in anticipation of news of the downfall of British power in India and the murder of all European residents there.

During all this dark and trying period Mr. Elliot was at his post at Madras, and by his calmness and cool judgment in moments of doubt and danger set an admirable example to all around him. In this he was nobly seconded by Lady Elliot, who, since the Governor, Lord Harris, was unmarried, had become the leading lady of Madras society. As the plot thickened, and tidings of revolt and massacre came in quick succession from the North of India, public anxiety in Madras was roused to the utmost pitch; and it has never been concealed that Lord Harris took a very gloomy view of the situation.* He did not see how Madras could escape the contagion; and indeed his forebodings would in all probability have been realized had not that genuine friend of England, the then Prime Minister of Hyderabad, by his good faith and sound policy averted an outbreak in the leading Muhammadan State. The loyalty of the Dakhan interposed a barrier between the fanatic revolutionaries of the North and the hesitating inhabitants of Southern India, and brought about the peace of the Madras Presidency. But until that peace was established,

* He was one of the few men in Madras who thought that Madras could not be saved.

anxiety in Madras increased daily, till it reached its highest pitch at the Mohurru festival in 1857, when many of the leading Europeans anticipated a rising and general massacre. At the outbreak of the Mutiny, Lord Elphinstone, who was Governor of Bombay, had sent to Bengal the troops which had just returned from the Persian war, and on the eve of the Mohurru Lord Harris received a message from Bombay begging for one hundred European soldiers, or even fifty, if so many could not be spared, to be sent at once to Kohlapur to avert a threatened catastrophe there, which it was feared might be the signal for a general rising throughout the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. The Governor naturally sought Mr. Elliot's advice, as being senior member of Council. The position was one of extreme difficulty, and the fact that Lord Elphinstone was his own cousin contributed much to increase Mr. Elliot's anxiety; but he could see no way to assist him, and advised the Governor that not a man could be sent. Two hours later, a period passed in momentary expectation of news being received of some great massacre in Bombay, Mr. Elliot was rejoiced and relieved by the receipt of a telegram from Lord Elphinstone, saying that as the 33rd Regiment had just arrived from the Mauritius, there was no longer any cause for apprehension. No wonder that many looked on this exceptionally opportune arrival of aid as a special interposition of Divine Providence.

Though the anxiety in Madras was so great that the Governor himself had little hope, and though the residents of the Presidency Town looked forward almost hourly to a general insurrection, many of the most sanguine believing only in the eventual triumph of England by a reconquest of the country, Mr. Elliot, then head of the Government during the absence of Lord Harris, who was temporarily invalided, resolutely set his face against any conduct which would be likely to lead to a panic. One morning there was a rumour reported to him that Lady Canning, the wife of the Governor-General, was going to sail for

England; and Mr. Elliot strongly expressed his disapproval of the step, saying that it would have the worst possible effect. In this he was nobly seconded by Lady Elliot, who declined altogether to set an example of flight, and busied herself in allaying the fears of those around her. It was a time when the heroism of the women was exemplified in no less a degree than that of the men, so much so that Lord Palmerston remarked in Parliament, that in future it would be a sufficient honour for the most distinguished British soldier, to proclaim him as brave as an Englishwoman.

Lord Harris's private letters to Mr. Elliot, many of which Lady Elliot has kindly shown me, prove how much the Governor relied on the sound judgment and long-trained experience of his Senior Member of Council in this critical and anxious time.

Lord Harris's health having broken down under the strain, and Mr. Elliot being, in the autumn of 1858, Provisional Governor of Madras, it devolved on the latter to give public effect to the Royal Proclamation which was to announce to the princes and people of India that the sovereignty of India had passed from the East India Company to the British Crown. In this connection Lord Canning's private letter to Mr. Elliot, dated from Allahabad, on October 17th, 1858, will be read with interest.

"PRIVATE.

"ALLAHABAD, Oct. 17th, 1858.

"DEAR MR. ELLIOT,—

"I have just received by the mail of the 17th Sept., *via* Bombay, the Proclamation of the Queen upon assuming the Government of India.

"I send you a copy of it at once by post, on the chance that it may reach you before the arrival of the Mail Steamer from Calcutta, by which another Copy will be sent officially. It may be necessary for me to delay the departure of the steamer for 24 hours.

"It is desirable that the promulgation of the Proclama-

tion should take place on the same day at each Presidency. Madras is the most distant.

"It should be read in some public and open place to which Natives of all classes, as well as Europeans, can have free access.

"The place which will be chosen at Calcutta is the open Steps of Government House, and the reading should be, first in English and then in one vernacular version.

"I suppose that Tamul will be the fittest language for Madras, and I hope that you will receive the document in time to have the translation made by the 1st of November.

"This is probably the day which will be fixed for the ceremony; but of this you shall hear positively by telegraph and by the steamer. If the translation is not ready, a single reading in English must suffice. The Proclamation being from the Queen herself, and treating of matter of the deepest importance, it is especially necessary that no inkling of its contents or purport should leak out or become canvassed before the day of Promulgation. Care therefore will be needed to put the Document into safe hands for translation. The reading will of course be followed by a salute, and the evening should be made as much of a festival as possible.

"Believe me, dear Mr. Elliot,

"Very faithfully yours,

"The Hon. Walter Elliot."

"CANNING."

In conformity with these instructions, Mr. Elliot, as Provisional Governor, read the Proclamation from the steps of the Banqueting Hall at Government House on November 1st, 1858, every possible arrangement having been made to invest the occasion with an aspect of supreme importance. Nothing was wanting that military display or elaborate ceremonial could impart, to impress the European and native inhabitants of the Presidency Town with a sense of the greatness of the change that had come on the Empire of India; and there was no one present but must have

felt that the occasion derived added interest from the fact of the Queen's message being proclaimed by one who had already devoted thirty-five years of his life to the faithful service, no less of his sovereign than of the people of the great country now formally taken under the protection of the Crown of England.

After two years more residence at Madras, Mr. Elliot determined to retire, having remained the full period allotted to a member of the Civil Service. He had been in India forty years, thirty-seven of which had been passed in active official employment, and he had held for five years the post of Member of Council, the highest appointment to which a civilian can attain.

Shortly before he left India, Mr. Elliot received the compliment of a public dinner in his honour, at which Sir Charles Trevelyan, then Governor of Madras, presided. The latter summed up his opinion of the value of Mr. Elliot's advice and counsel by saying in his valedictory speech, "In short, if there be anything that I ever wished to know connected with India, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall, I would go to Walter Elliot for the information."

After his retirement from the Madras Civil Service Mr. Elliot lived at Wolfelee till his death, busily at work on his favourite subjects, no less than on county matters and all that concerned the welfare and happiness of those around him.

The "Indian Antiquary," the journals of the various Asiatic Societies, that of the Ethnological Society, the Transactions of the Botanical Society, the Journal of the Zoological Society, the Reports of the British Association, the Journal of the Berwickshire National Club, the Proceedings of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, the "Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal," all received contributions, some of them numerous ones, from his pen, and this, too, while he was fighting inch by inch against a daily increasing defect of vision which resulted, during the last few years of his life, in total blindness.

One of his most important works, the standard book of reference on the "Coins of Southern India," published in the "Numismata Orientalia," which was conducted, all too briefly, by the late Mr. Edward Thomas, was written at a time when the disease in his eyes rendered him practically incapable of seeing a single coin; and yet his memory was so reliable that by simply handling one of the thousands of coins in his cabinet, after having its device described, he would not only recognise the specimen itself, but in most cases remember how he got possession of it, and where it had been discovered. This I can say from my own positive knowledge, as I was enabled to assist the author in the preparation of the catalogue and plates which close the volume, and for this purpose worked with him for some time. It is without doubt the best and most extensive work of the kind yet published on that special subject, though none knew better than the gifted author himself that it can only be regarded as, in many respects, provisional and tentative. The coin and medal department of the British Museum now possesses the pick of Sir Walter's collection.

In 1866, Mr. Elliot received the honour of knighthood, being created a Knight Commander of the Star of India. In 1877 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1878 the University of Edinburgh recognised his worth by conferring on him the degree of honorary Doctor of Laws. He was a member of many learned societies, including the Linnæan, the Royal Asiatic, the Royal Geographical, the Zoological, and several others. During the last few years of his life he had used all his influence to ensure the proper working of the Government Archæological Department in India, and was instrumental in securing the appointments of Dr. J. Burgess as Director-General of Archæology and of Mr. Fleet as Epigraphist to the Government of India.

He endeared himself to all around him by his daily devotion of time and talents to every good and useful

work, whether public or parochial; and as a proof of this I cannot do better than quote the following passages from obituary notices of him which appeared in county and local periodicals. The *Teviotdale Record* says: "His generosity for every benevolent cause was unstinted, as he had a kindly heart keenly sensitive to feel for everything and every one claiming human sympathy and aid. His moral influence, associated as it was with a Christian life, in which were blended in beautiful consistency the virtues of genuine Christian piety, was great wherever he was known." The *Kelso Chronicle*, writing of his usefulness in the county, says: "As a Commissioner of Supply for Roxburghshire he took an important part in public affairs, and his opinions were always received with respect by his brother Commissioners. He generally was elected a member of the more important committees, and on the Police Committee he served for many years. He was also on the Commission of the Peace. It was on his motion, and by his assistance, that the public records in the Sheriff Clerk's office were endorsed and properly arranged. . . . He was a munificent patron of the Hawick Museum and of the Public Library, taking a deep interest in both institutions, and contributing largely to them."

Considering that Sir Walter Elliot's reputation was mainly founded on his extensive learning in antiquarian and numismatic subjects, the following tribute to his memory in the columns of the leading natural science periodical is a remarkable testimony to his exceptional ability. The extract appended is taken from *Nature* for April 7, 1887: "By the death at an advanced age of Sir Walter Elliot we lose one of the few survivors from a group of men who in the second quarter of the present century, by their contributions to the zoology of British India, laid the foundations of our present knowledge. The subject of our present notice was, however, so widely known for his acquaintance with the history, coins, lan-

guages, and ancient literature of Southern India, that his zoological work might easily be overlooked. . . ."

Sir Walter worked with unabated interest literally up to the last hour of his long life, for he passed away, apparently without the slightest suffering, on the afternoon of a day, the morning of which had been, as usual, devoted to active occupations. One of his friends, Dr. Pope, the eminent Tamil scholar, received a letter signed by him and dated from Wolfelee on March 1st, 1887, the day of his death, containing inquiries as to the forthcoming edition of a Tamil work, and suggesting that the attention of Madras native students should be bestowed upon the early dialects of their own language. He was in his 85th year.

I conclude this memoir with a paragraph taken from the obituary notice of him in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*: "On some points in Elliot's character, such as his untiring industry, his eagerness in the pursuit of knowledge, his sound judgment in affairs, an estimate may in some measure be formed from this brief notice of his public life and avocations. His character was not less admirable in the relations and duties of private life. Deeply impressed by the truths of Christianity, but in this and in all other matters perfectly free from ostentation or display, possessing a singularly calm and equable temper, bearing with unfailing patience and resignation in the latter years of his life a deprivation which, to most men with his tastes and with his active mind would have been extremely trying; a faithful husband, an affectionate father, a staunch friend and a kind neighbour, he furnished to all around him an example of qualities which, if they were less uncommon, would make this a better and a happier world."

I.

[The following Note on a peculiar custom prevalent in the Southern Mahratta country under the native Governments forms the earliest entry in Sir Walter Elliot's "Miscellaneous Book," vol. 1. It was probably written about the year 1830. R. S.]

TULLEE.

The institutions of native Governments, regulated by no fixed rules or systems, are naturally of a lax and variable nature, depending chiefly on the individual character of the ruler, or of the officers employed under him. The latter, when employed in distant provinces, and particularly without a superintending control, are easily induced to turn the powers of the Government into sources of their own advantage, by selling or withholding justice, and showing favour only to those who can purchase it. Such was particularly the case in the Southern Mahratta Country, especially during the latter part of the Peshwa's Government, which, added to other causes of misrule and oppression, destroyed the ties which hold society together, and left every man dependent on his resources for the preservation of his rights, and even of his life. Such was probably the origin of the custom of *Tullee*, by which an injured individual strove to compel attention to his grievances by inflicting the greatest portion of evil on the community at large. Retiring from the village, he posts a written statement of his grievances on some conspicuous place, and then proceeds to plunder, assault, and even murder every one he meets with, till the amount of injury inflicted and the degree of terror inspired compel the inhabitants, unsupported by the executive authorities, to come

to terms with the desperado, and purchase his forbearance at any price.

The zemindars and other experienced persons say, that originally a more legitimate and proper system of *Tullee* prevailed, particularly among the Wuttundars, who had permanent interests to preserve in the village. Such a one would plunder the passenger of his clothes on the highway and restore them in the town, or would take a handful of corn and burn it, instead of setting fire to the stack. But such instances were probably rare, and latterly have been altogether disused. In all the numerous cases that have come to my notice, the aggression has been of a more malignant and cruel description, slaying and carrying off cattle, with wanton injury to the person, infliction of wounds, firing corn-stacks, cutting down plantain-trees, etc. ; at each act of violence the outlaw shouting, "I am so-and-so! I seek reparation from my enemy!" Where the injury complained of is loss of reputation, or disgrace arising from the misconduct of women, the revenge assumes a yet more atrocious character. The man writes no notice, nor, when attacking, shouts out his name as above, but rushing on the defenceless passengers he puts them to death without regard to age or sex, at the same time doing all the injury in his power. This is called "dumb Tullee."

[Then follows an account of an actual case, beginning with one of the Tullee notices, which was posted on the 24th January, 1828.]

"To . . . greeting. Your friend . . . has a cause of complaint against you. Though I have already caused much confusion and disorder, you will not attend to it. Very well. Let it be. If in three days you come and arrange our dispute, and carry me to the village, all will be well. If not, some injury will befall His Highness the Maharajah in his capital at Kolapur, and the consequences will be important. If I should not succeed, I will set fire to the village and utterly destroy it. No need for more words."

[On the 8th February of the same year the following

notice was sent by the same man to the local representative of the British Government.]

"To . . . greeting. The petition of . . . (A.) and (B.) having conspired together and deceived the Government, seized upon my house and property. This exaction was made under the Kolapura Government, and much tyranny and oppression were employed, at which time I practised *Tullee*, but no one listened to me. Understanding that the English Government is now in force, I send this petition. Please inquire fully."

In consequence of this being reported to the magistrate, orders were given to tell . . . to return to his village, that no notice would be taken of his acts under the late Government, and that his case should be inquired into ; but warning him not to continue such conduct. He, however, remained in the exercise of *Tullee*, and is now under trial for three murders committed subsequently. He says the above communication never reached him.

He was at length condemned and executed in 1830.

II.

SKETCH OF THE EVENTS IN THE SOUTHERN MARÁTHA COUNTRY CONNECTED WITH THE INSURRECTION AT KITTÛR BETWEEN SEPTEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1824.*

Having in the India Office accidentally met Mr. Jardine, B.C.S., who had formerly been employed in my old District in the Southern Marátha Country, he requested me to give him some account of the insurrection at Kittûr in 1824, of which I am now probably the only survivor. And although my memory does not allow me, after the lapse of sixty-one years, to recall the more minute incidents connected with that affair, the main features of the event are so deeply impressed on my recollection that I am able to do so with

* See an account of the further consequences of this affair in the *Ind. Ant.* xiv., p. 293 ; *Bom. Gaz.* (Belgaum), p. 581 ; *Hist. Account of Belgaum Dist.*, by H. T. Stokes, M.C.S., p. 82.

the assistance of a memorandum, only now accidentally discovered among my papers. It was written a few months after the event, with the view of exculpating the principal actors, both civil and military, from the blame which was freely attributed to them.

On the subjugation of the Peshwa's territory, that portion of it known as the Southern Marátha Country, or, according to native usage, the Carnatic, was placed under the Administration of a Principal Collector and Political Agent. It originally comprised the three present Collectorates of Belgaum, Dhârwar, and Sholapur, in which Canarese was the vernacular dialect. The native Government had conferred extensive possessions in this province on a number of feudatories, who were bound to render military service when required. At the conquest the possession of these lands was confirmed on hereditary tenure by the British Government, but with the special reservation that on the failure of the direct male descent, no claim to continue the succession would be recognised without the previous sanction of the ruling power. The practice of adoption being so general among Hindus, it was considered necessary to make it clearly understood that the performance of this rite, however valid with reference to family ties, conveyed no political right unless confirmed by the State.

One of these chiefs, the *Deṣâi* of Kittûr, remarkable as being the only one belonging to the Lingâyat, or Jangam, sect, had rendered some service to General Monro at the conquest, in recognition of which his claim to a considerable tract, yielding from two to three lākhs of rupees (the exact value I do not remember), had been favourably recognised.

Sivalinga Rudra Sirje, the late *Deṣâi* or *Sir-Deṣâi*, was, at the time of this narrative, in a declining state of health. He had been twice married, but both his wives had died without children, and he was betrothed to a third, the daughter of the Setti of Homenâbâd (? Mominâbad), but the marriage had not been completed. The *Deṣâi's* only brother had also died without heirs, and there was no

collateral branch, or other connexion of the family, that was known to have claim to the succession. As, however, the *Deşâî* was still in the prime of life, and hoped to recover from his malady, he was very averse to provide an heir to his estate by means of adoption. In consequence of this feeling and the precarious state of the *Deşâî's* health, Mr. Thackery took several opportunities of reading to the assembled vakils, including the Kittûr envoy, some of the proclamations of Government affecting Sardârs, among which he purposely included that which requires all adoptions to be previously submitted to, and sanctioned by, the Governor in Council, before they could be deemed valid. This was specially intended for the Kittûr case, and was repeated several times.

In the month of September, whilst on a shooting party at Teygoor, five miles from Kittûr, a party of Sardârs from the latter place waited on Mr. Thackery (on the 12th). They stated that their chief was then so dangerously ill that he was not expected to survive many hours longer, and that he was anxious to procure the sanction of Government for the adoption of a boy originally of the same family, and son of the *pâtîl* of Mastmaradi, and a letter was delivered from the *Deşâî* himself to the same purport, bearing his signature. Mr. Thackery replied that he must refer the matter to higher authority, and in the meantime proposed to send the Surgeon, Mr. Bell, to see the *Deşâî*. To this they somewhat unwillingly agreed; and Mr. Bell, who was of the party, immediately rode over to Kittûr. He returned in about an hour, and reported that he had found the *Deşâî* already dead; that he saw the body decked with flowers, seated in state in the *Dîwân-i-Aâm*, or reception-hall; that from its appearance he must have been dead a considerable time, and that in his opinion he had expired the day before (the 11th). The letter, however, was dated the 12th; but as the signature did not resemble the *Deşâî's* usual handwriting, this fact, coupled with Mr. Bell's information, induced considerable doubts of its authenticity.

The following day Mr. Thackery, accompanied by Messrs. Stevenson and Freese (the first and third Assistants) repaired to Kittûr, and two days afterwards (on the 15th) returned to Dhárwâr. Having reported the above circumstances, together with the want of any legitimate successor to the *Samasthân*, Mr. Thackery appointed a Brâhman named Venkat Rao, a *Kârkun* in his own *Kachêrt*, who in conjunction with Kûnur Malapa, the person most trusted and favoured by the late *Deșâit*, and generally called *Dîwân*, were to manage affairs till the decision of Government should be received. This choice was afterwards found to have been an unfortunate one, Venkat Rao, though an excellent *Kârkun*, being of low, vulgar extraction, and elated with the insolence of office, conducted himself with such disregard to the popular feelings as to excite much disgust in the minds of the principal Sardârs. Mr. Thackery hesitated between appointing this man or Antaji Punt, Munsiff of Dhârwâr; but decided against the latter as being a Kokanist and a man of the country, qualities that would have rendered him unpalatable to the Lingáyat chiefs,—whilst the former was a stranger, free from these objections, and more likely to remain unbiassed by any party.

Kûnur Malapa had many enemies in men whose power had been abridged through his influence with the late chief. One of these, named Auradi Virappa,—who had been removed from the superintendence of the Kátak, or village militia, in favour of a dependent of Kûnur Malapa's named Sardâr or Hudkadli Malapa,—came secretly to Dhârwâr, and informed Mr. Thackery that the *Deșâit* had died the day before the visit of the Sardârs; that the letter, adoption, etc., were inventions of Kûnur Malapa to retain his influence; that he abused the trust so reposed in him, and had abstracted large sums of money from the treasury. On the 25th September, Mr. Thackery returned to Kittûr, taking with him Messrs. Stevenson and Elliot (first and second Assistants). Kûnur Malapa, being called on, admitted the truth of Auradi Virappa's information, and

stated that the signature of the letter had been effected by placing the pen in the hand of the corpse. He was thereupon suspended and ordered to confine himself to his house. Gurusiddapah, the head of the *pâgâ* or Irregular Horse, who had the greatest influence after Kûnur Malapa, and with whom he was at enmity, was appointed Manager on the part of the *Samasthân*, and Auradi Vitrappa became head of the Kâtak.

Meantime, an answer from Government arrived, directing inquiries to be made into the genealogy of the family, with a view to discover whether any one possessed claims on the *Desgatti*; but no one could be found, either collateral with the founder or within the seven generations that followed. The Mastmaradi pâtil traced his descent from an ancestor of the person who founded the Kittûr family, and the Khudavindpur pâtil and others were his illegitimate descendants. This result also was duly reported to Government, but for a long time no answer was received. In consequence of this failure of heirs Mr. Thackery doubted that the adoption would be allowed. The only other person who had the slightest claim on the estate was the young wife of the late *Deṣâî*, still a mere child. She had no immediate friends or relations of her own, having been transplanted into her husband's house alone, and from a distant land. She was surrounded by the relatives of her late husband, who looked only to their own interests, and who attached themselves rather to a mother-in-law of the late *Deṣâî*, named Chinama a woman of violent and intermeddling disposition, who had been carefully secluded from affairs by the *Deṣâî* on that account. If the Government should not be disposed to sanction an adoption, the *Desgatti* lands would either revert entirely to the Sarkâr, or they might be bestowed wholly, or in part, on the younger *Deṣâîni* during her lifetime. In either case, Mr. Thackery felt that a considerable degree of responsibility attached to him; and, to see that the interests of neither party suffered, he commenced an inquiry into the resources of the *Samasthân*, taking an account of

the treasury, *págás*, etc., a course which created some anxiety in the minds of the people.

On the 29th September, Mr. Thackery went into Dhárwár during the Dassera week. Stevenson and I remained and distributed the presents and *poshák*s, or honorary dresses, according to custom. We were a little alarmed by reports of collections and assemblies of the people, but attributed it to the occasion of the feast. On the 2nd October, Mr. Thackery returned. No answer had yet arrived from Government regarding the final adjustment of the succession. Mr. Thackery expressed considerable anxiety at the delay. The conviction in his own mind seemed to be, that Government would consider the bulk of the *Desgatti* lands to have lapsed; and, anxious that in the event of such a determination, no further obstruction should occur to the revenue arrangements of the year, the season for which had already commenced, he proceeded sedulously in the preparation of the village accounts, and even nominated Amildárs, Sarish-tadárs, Ziládárs, etc., to facilitate the attainment of this object. This inquisition into the internal resources of the country augmented the distrust and jealousy already felt by the people at the continued silence of Government regarding their final condition; and even at this period they appear to have meditated resistance, as is proved by certain facts afterwards brought to light, but which the ignorance or incompetence of the native Manager prevented our learning at the time. It appears that, after mustering the different *págás* from the country, instead of returning them to their separate villages, they were kept at Nandihali, within two miles of Kittûr, and actually came and participated in the affair on the 23rd.

Many of the best Kâtaks who came to the Dassera were likewise retained, and acted a conspicuous part on that day. A little circumstance occurred to myself which marked the temper of the people. We were beating a jungle near Kittûr with some of the Sardárs, when Gurusiddapah, taking an opportunity when I was quite alone, came up and

asked me when the Government would come to some decision regarding the Samasthân. I said, when the answer from the Sarkâr should arrive. He rejoined that the people were in a state of great excitement and alarm; that they were of a martial character, and strongly attached to the Samasthân, and again dwelt on their warlike disposition, describing the country as "*Kâtak-ka-Mulk.*" This I repeated to Mr. Thackery. About this time it was determined by Government to do away with the Cantonment at Kaladgi, the force being divided between Sholapur and Belgaum. Mr. Thackery represented to Colonel Pierce the excellent supply of forage and water at Kittûr, and recommended part of it being sent thither; but whether he specified the Troop of Horse Artillery I do not know. However, on the 18th inst. the C Troop of Native Horse Artillery arrived at Kittûr, under command of Capt. Black, with Lieuts. Sewell and Dighton. This was not considered a military measure; for Mr. Thackery repeatedly expressed an opinion that the country would be settled without the interference of an armed force.

Still no answer was received from Government regarding the final disposal of the place. The people daily showed more distrust and jealousy of our proceedings; and Mr. Thackery evinced much solicitude at the state of suspense in which he was placed, and I believe wrote in urgent terms to Mr. Chaplin on the subject. The elder *Deşâîni*, too, and Gurusiddapah, in whom she chiefly trusted, finding that day after day passed in this uncertainty, exhibited much impatience, and even talked of setting out for Bombay to lay their claims before the Governor himself.

They became more determined in this plan, which at first they had mentioned as a mark of discontent; and at length they actually made preparations, and proposed to carry the money in the treasury (to the amount of nearly 9 lākhs of rupees) with them. This Mr. Thackery declared he could not allow, as he was responsible to Government for the money, the amount of which he had already reported; and finding that they persisted, he, on the 20th Oct., ordered his

escort to take possession of the two gates of the fort, 30 men at each, and to suffer no one to go out without his permission. He then proceeded to take measures for the security of the public property of the Samasthán, such as sealing up the treasury, etc., the people manifesting increasing symptoms of anger and discontent ; but having been very unwell for two or three days previous, I did not myself observe what passed. On the 22nd, as I went into the Fort to the Kacherí with Messrs. Thackery and Stevenson, the most unequivocal marks of bad feeling were shown ; and, indeed, all intercourse seemed broken off. Mr. Thackery, in the evening, sent for the principal Sardárs to expostulate with them ; but they distinctly refused to come, alleging that they were not treated with respect. Mr. Thackery, though always kind and attentive in his intercourse with the people, had, on one or two occasions, among his frequent interviews with Gurusiddapah, requested him to be seated on the ground, as there was no chair present. This, it was afterwards discovered, had given great offence. Mr. Thackery now wrote a few lines to Capt. Black, stating shortly the temper that had been displayed, and desiring him to send down a division of guns to the fort for the purpose of overawing the people. Capt. Black came down with them himself ; but on arriving at the gates, he found them locked and entrance refused ; for though Mr. Thackery had placed his escort there, the gates (3 in number) were not all in our possession, the men being posted at the innermost, while the two outermost were entirely under the control of the inmates of the Fort. The unwillingness of the people, however, to resist, and Capt. Black's firmness in demanding entrance, induced them to open the way, when we all left the Fort ; the division of guns, with its usual complement of non-commissioned officers and troopers remaining within. Stevenson and I dined at the troop mess ; but Mr. Thackery went to bed. The incident at the gates led to a conversation about blowing them open with guns. I don't recollect whether the question was settled by the younger members of the party alone ; but this I know, the impression produced on my mind was, that in

such a case the doors would fly open at the first discharge. The evening passed pleasantly ; and no presentiment came over us of the impending catastrophe of the morrow. Early the following morning, Capt. Black came to Mr. Thackery and stated that the party sent to relieve his men had been refused admittance. When I entered the tent, I found Mr. Thackery, Capt. Black, and Stevenson there (Thackery and Stevenson in their dressing-gowns). Capt. Black was urging the necessity of relieving his men ; and Mr. Thackery replied that if he thought he could do so by forcing the gate, it had better be done. Capt. Black then ordered down another division of guns ;* and, without waiting for them, rode down to the gate of the Fort to see what was going on. (After this he never saw Mr. Thackery again.) I went with him. We were quite alone, and sat under the gate nearly an hour (from 8 to 9 a.m.). When the guns arrived—the Artillery Camp was about half a mile distant ; our tents were within three or four hundred yards of the Fort—the people within, who had till then been quite quiet, began to show themselves along the walls, others appeared on the high ground in front of the upper Fort ; and confused rumours were heard of men having been marching into the place all night ; of guns having been brought out from the *Topkhana*, or arsenal ; and of every preparation having been made for resistance. Capt. Black had written to Mr. Thackery to know what time he was to allow the people to wait after having demanded the release of his men, and received a written answer specifying 20 minutes. On the arrival of the guns, about 9 o'clock, the head Brâhman Kârkun, named Dafterdâr Timapa, appeared through the postern or *diddi* in answer to our summons, and I think it was Stevenson (who had now joined us) who addressed him, and demanded the release of the guard. This he flatly refused, except on condition of the *Deşâîni* and her party with the treasure departing also. On being threatened with force, he answered that they also could use force, and

* The troop, when it arrived at Kitiûr, consisted of 200 or 250 men, and 4 or 6 guns, the others (2 or 4) having been left at Belgaum for some repairs.

retired. His manner was very agitated and disturbed. At the expiration of the 20 minutes, Capt. Black requested Stevenson to ask Mr. Thackery if he was to fire. Stevenson returned in a few minutes with an answer in the affirmative; and about 20 minutes past 9 o'clock the first gun was discharged. While preparations were making, Stevenson addressed all the Shetsanadís, etc., who were within hearing, and warned them that they would be treated as rebels if they resisted; but they did not appear to pay attention. Meantime, Mr. Thackery, after I had left him, had superseded Gurusid-dapah in his authority, appointing the younger *Deşâînî's* father as guardian and manager,* and putting Kûnur Malapa at the head of the Kátak; but it was then too late. The father-in-law was a timid man, without influence. Both were unable to get inside the Fort, or to make their new authority known.

Capt. Black and Lieut. Dighton with one gun and twelve men stood at the gate, Lieut. Sewell with the other gun and the same number of men, was posted on the glacis to keep down fire from the wall. I expected to have seen the gate fly open at the first gun; but it stood unshaken and continued immovable after two discharges more. A few shots now began to fall from the walls which Sewell's gun, unable to command both sides, failed to check. Some men were wounded, and Sewell himself shortly afterwards fell, shot through the breast. Stevenson and I got him on his horse, and took him by a short cut to the tents, where the surgeon of the troop was waiting. Hardly had we lifted him in, when two or three shots penetrating the tent showed that this was no safe place in which to dress his wounds, and Dr. Turnbull at once carried him out to his own camp. Thence he was carried to Dhárwár in the evening, where he died on the 5th Nov. Inquiring for Mr. Thackery, we learned that he had gone in his palanquin by the principal road to confer with Capt. Black at the gate. Stevenson

* He had been sent for from Homenâbád, and arrived only a few days before.

and I ran down to join him, but on reaching the esplanade we found that a sortie had been made, and the gunners were flying for their lives. Two men of the party of Irregular Horse, always in attendance on the Political Agent, who had ridden down with him, reported that Mr. Thackery had been killed, and wished to carry us off to the camp while there was yet time. I was inclined to follow their advice, but Stevenson thought we ought not to desert our chief, and we were left alone. In a very few minutes the approach of the enemy, who were giving no quarter, forced us to take refuge in a house, where we remained for some little time, uncertain what might happen. A dependent of the Rājā named Baslingapa Teli,* a respectable man, with whom we had some acquaintance, hailed us through the door, and advised us to give ourselves up, promising to protect us from the excited soldiery outside. We complied, and surrounding us with a compact body of his own followers, he carried us into the fort, not, however, without difficulty, as several onslaughts were made on us, and a blow with a sword over the heads of our defenders cut through Stevenson's hat. Near the glacis, we passed Mr. Thackery lying dead on the ground, and descending to the gate found Lieut. Dighton, who had been early killed, with two or three of his men. Capt. Black lay inside the gate also dead. On reaching the third gate, the sepoys and the gunners were standing to their arms, the walls all round swarming with matchlock men ready to fire on the slightest movement. As further resistance would only entail their destruction, we halted, and advised them to yield themselves prisoners, with which they somewhat unwillingly complied. The like course was pursued with the other party posted in the court of the *mahâl*; and Sergeant Denton, a fine old soldier, gave up his arms on our assuming the responsibility of the order. The prisoners were all well treated, and were sent out to the camp on the following day, each man receiving a rupee. We were then conducted to a large upstairs house, belonging,

* I am not quite sure of this man's name; I should like to know it.

I believe, to Kûnur Malapa, where we remained till our release. Here we were carefully watched, three men being always on guard in the same room with us, day and night.

During the afternoon several of the leading men came to visit us, and whilst talking over the events of the day among themselves, Stevenson, who understood Canarese, learned among other things, that Auradi Virappa, the chief of the Kátak or Shetsanadi militia, had caused Kûnur Malapa, the late Dîwán, to be murdered. This Virappa was a rough violent man, who, supported by the local soldiery, thenceforward took a leading part in the insurrection.

Our tents having been sacked and everything plundered and destroyed, we were for some days without even a change of clothing, but afterwards received a few necessary articles of dress, books, papers, etc., from Dhárwár, though our servants were not allowed to join us. In all other respects we were well treated and comfortably lodged; we wrote and received letters without hindrance. Meanwhile the insurgents continued to press their demands on the Government, and showed no intention to submit. It was therefore determined to reduce the place by force. Mr. Chaplin, the Commissioner, proceeded to the District, and issued a proclamation offering pardon to all who would submit before a certain date, except the ringleaders, and even promising to spare their lives if they gave themselves up. Troops began to arrive from different quarters, and by the 26th Nov. a sufficient body had assembled under Colonel Walker to invest the place; and Mr. Chaplin soon after joined the camp. Frequent communications then passed between the leaders and the Commissioner, who sternly refused to listen to any proposal based on conditions connected with our safety, and referred them to the proclamation as his ultimatum. That there might be no mistake Mr. Chaplin wrote several replies, through us, in Hindustani, with his own hand, which we rehearsed carefully to Gurusiddapah in the presence of the other leaders, to whom he translated them. Every now and then cannon-shots were fired on the troops

from the walls, which, however, did no harm. We pointed out the folly of this proceeding if they really wished to enter into terms, and again and again orders were sent by one party to discontinue the practice, but after an interval it was resumed by orders of another, the garrison in fact being under no efficient control. At length, on the morning of the 2nd Dec., the leader came to us and offered, if we would intercede for them, to carry us out to the camp. To this we readily agreed, premising that we had no influence, and could hold out no hope of success.

After some further hesitation and a delay to us of much anxiety, whilst they alternately adopted and again rejected the plan, they at last determined to deliver us up; and, accompanied by two vakíls and preceded by a flag of truce, we hastened to the outposts, which were commanded by Colonel Trewman, who conducted us to the Commissioner's tent. There we introduced the vakíls to Mr. Chaplin, and in their presence fulfilled our promise, which, as we had told them, proved of no avail, and they returned to the Fort. The same day the last detachments required to complete the force arrived from Haidarabád under Colonel Deacon, C.B., the officer appointed to conduct the final operations against the place. A summons for surrender within twenty-four hours was sent to the inmates, and the interval was employed by Colonel Deacon in reconnoitering the place and forming his plan of attack. On the expiration of that time (on the evening of the 3rd), no signs of submission being shown, a fortified hill called *Kempan maradi*, or *Kamanmati*, which commanded the Fort, and was garrisoned by a strong party, amongst whom were some Sikh mercenaries from Nandair, was stormed and carried without the loss of a man, the only casualty being that of Mr. John Monro, the Sub-Collector, who had accompanied an intimate friend of the 23rd Light Infantry, and, led away by his ardour in the pursuit, received a wound of which he died at Dhárwár some days later.* During the night, a battery to breach the

* On the 13th December; he was a nephew of Sir Thomas Munro.

Fort was constructed on this point, which opened with effect next morning. In the afternoon a message was received, requesting permission to send a vakîl, who, on repairing to the Commissioner, was referred to the officer commanding, by whom he was told that if they were ready to surrender the Fort, to lay down their arms, and to deliver up the persons specified in the proclamation, they should hoist a white flag, when orders to cease firing would be given. By-and-by a white flag was seen on the ramparts ; but some hesitation was evinced in fulfilling the conditions, owing apparently to the conflicting counsels and the want of unanimity which had prevailed among the leaders from the first. Preparations were therefore made for resuming the attack, and it was not until eight o'clock next morning (5th inst.) that the gates were thrown open and the prisoners delivered up. During the night many of the Shetsanadîs quietly evacuated the Fort, being allowed to pass through the investing pickets without hindrance. Order was soon restored, liberal terms were granted to all except Auradi Virappa, who was tried and sentenced to transportation for life.*

Gurusiddapah received back his estate, and I saw him repeatedly in after years comfortable and contented. He was a man of excellent natural disposition, and was much respected. Baslingapa Teli received a special grant for the protection he had afforded us.

On breaking up the force, the 7th Cavalry, which had come from Sholapur, was ordered to return by way of Scindago, a village in Hungund Táluk, which had been occupied by a party of Arabs from the Nizam's country, invited by the *pátîl* of the place. They were easily expelled, and the *pátîl* was seized and tried for high treason. This was in Mr. Munro's Sub-Collectorate, to which I was at the same time sent in temporary charge, while Mr. Stevenson went to his own Sub-Division at Rânibennur. Soon afterwards, Mr. T. H. Baber was appointed Principal Collector and Political Agent ; and so ended the Kittûr tragedy.

* I forget if any others were tried.

III.

KUTTEEMUNNEES AND A TULLEE-KHOR.

THE disturbed state of society during the latter years of the Peishwa's Government, the impediments to the course of justice, and the oppressive conduct of the local officers, occasioned the prevalence of a curious custom, not unknown in other parts of India, nor previously in this province, by which an injured individual endeavoured to procure redress through his own exertions. But the frequency of its occurrence during latter years caused it to be reduced to a kind of system, which has not even yet entirely disappeared.

A number of Jungums, or Lingayet priests, under the title of Kutteemunneewallahs, exercise a sort of censorship over the morals of the community, and levy fines for breaches of decorum or morality, which they apply to their own use. The chief of these are on the Nizam's frontier, in the turbulent country between the Krishna and Tungabadra rivers. Each of these keeps in his train a number of men of bad character, who are called Komars. Such women as are irretrievably excluded from their castes, the Kutteemunnee, as public censor, absolves from all former ties, and unites them by nikkah marriage to his Komars, who are generally men excluded from society for similar infamy of character. When a breach of good manners has occurred and been settled by the village community, the dissatisfied party may apply to the Kutteemunnee, who, if he chooses to take it up, writes a notice which he posts up, by means of the Komars, on the offending villagers, to the following purport :

"I am he whose sword is always ready, the owner of the weapon which out-weighs the earth, the ally of the devil,

who dwells in the sky, sits on the trees, and resides in hell, in ancient wells, and in holy mountains, who shrouds himself in the clouds, conceals himself in grain-stacks and amongst the bushes surrounding the villages. He will not quit you, however sound your sleep, or however careful your watch. Within three days, if you do not settle this affair, I will destroy men and women, and put their bodies in baskets, and will display them in the market-place? Take care."

Having thus given warning, and made demonstration of his hostile designs by burning a small quantity of grain or cutting down a tree, the Tullee-khor remains quiet for ten or fifteen days. He then writes another notice, with the name of the injured party, and below it the first letter of, or some allusion to, the name of the person from whom he seeks redress. This he posts up at night, and at the same time sets fire to a stack of corn or straw. The villagers take the alarm, find the notice in the morning, and sending for the village Ganâchâree, or censor, order him to trace the offended person, at the same time levying from him who has been the cause of the quarrel a sum varying from Rs. 200 to Rs. 400. The Ganâchâree proceeds with it to the Kut-teemunnee and presents the fee; and the latter upon this undertakes to accommodate the dispute. But should conciliatory measures not be adopted, the Tullee-khor continues his devastations till they come to terms. The period allowed for the destructive process is twelve years; but whether it is to cease after that period, I do not know.

Tullee may arise from other and very slight provocations. Thus, when the people of the plains repair to the Mulnād for the paddy harvest, they receive their hire out of the grain cut. Some reapers pick out fine large bunches or sheaves, which the owner of the field takes away, paying them from the general stack. Conduct of this kind was resented on the part of a reaper by *Tullee*; and it required Rs. 320 to make it up. Another cause is the unmeasured abuse in which all Eastern languages abound, and which, when applied to a female relative, sometimes induces the

person insulted to declare his marriage dissolved, and to make *Tullee* for a fine equivalent to his marriage expenses. Sometimes *Tullee* is resorted to when a man is taunted with stealing, as in the case of Kuleshanee Keucha of Lukma-poor, who really was a thief. He avenged himself by *Tullee*, and was blown away from a gun by order of Rastiah. Sometimes, even a man who has really committed a crime, for which he fears retributive justice, employs *Tullee* as a defence, like Kuttee Sakriya, a retainer of the Bágalkote Deşae, who ravaged the whole Bágalkote country for twelve years. Such persons, however, whether their cause be just or not, are expected to give information of their designs to the Kutteemunnee, who would otherwise assist the officers of Government in bringing them to punishment. Tullee-khors were also in the habit latterly of seeking and receiving protection from powerful zemindars, who, seizing the pretext, employed their own followers to rob and plunder in the Tullee-khor's name for their own profit and advantage. Many of the principal zemindars in this district were noted for such practices; and some of them, as the Govunkal Naik, the master of a small village in the Munslee Taluk, attained great celebrity. Twelve of his followers were hanged in one morning for *Tullee*.

The Moog Tullee also must be compounded in the usual way. The Ganácháree goes to the Kutteemunnee, and fixes the amount of damage money, which is divided between the Kutteemunnee, the person affording protection, and the Tullee-khor. But a system latterly came into use, probably occasioned by the protection afforded to such desperadoes by the zemindars. This was called *Yederé Tullee*, or "opposing" Tullee, in which the objects of the original Tullee employed persons to devastate the property of the Tullee-khor and his defenders. This merely aggravated the general suffering, and indeed was only employed during the latter years of the Mahratta Government, when it had lost all powers of control, and the framework of society seemed almost dissolved.

One of the most famous Tullee characters in this part of the district was a person of the Reddy caste, named Magee Busya, brother of the head man of Magee, who left the village because his brother refused him his share in the family estate. He was a man of great strength and courage, and in his acts displayed a degree of generosity that ultimately saved his life. Among the stories yet current, they tell that on one occasion a party of ryots, going out to their fields during harvest to make the usual sacrifices and hold feast, took out with them a good store of dainties, and ten or twelve armed followers. The whole party was enjoying the good cheer when Busya, who had been concealed in a stack in the field, suddenly appeared. The men, followers and all, took to their heels, leaving their weapons behind them, the women and children remained. Busya made them serve him with food, then leisurely washed his hands, made them strip off their jewels, which he tied up in his cloth, and putting the guns and swords on one of the ryots' bullocks, proceeded with the whole to the town. There he met the entire population turning out against him, but no one dared to approach. He restored their jewels to the women, and dismissing them without injury with their bullocks and weapons, walked leisurely off.

On another occasion he overheard two women of the village talking about him, one of whom abused him, while the other pitied and commiserated his condition. He seized a buffalo belonging to the husband of the former, and made a present of it to the other female, calling her his sister, and threatening any one with death who should dare to restore it. Such was the terror of his name that no one ventured to interfere, and the animal remained with its new mistress.

Orders had on one occasion been sent by Rastiah to all the villages of the division to seize Busya. A party of about fifteen armed men, who were in search of him, had sat down in the jungle to take a few whiffs of tobacco; and as it was getting dark one of them observed that they ought to look out, as Busya might be about. Others said, "Let him come,

we'll soon settle him!" Busya happened to be close by, and coming near, he asked which of them would venture to touch him. No one moved. He then made at them with his sword. All ran away, and Busya wounded one or two in their retreat.

At last he was surrounded in the town of Chelgerry, on the Nizam's frontier, by a party of Rastiah's horse, and brought a prisoner to Bagalkote. There, though loaded with fetters a maund weight (about 80 lbs.) he practised all kinds of athletic exercises. He had concerted a plan of escape with a fellow-prisoner, and, watching a favourable opportunity, threw himself from the bastion in which he was confined. He was however retaken, and ordered to be put to death. Great interest was made for his life, and the wife of Yeswunt Row, Rastiah's chief official at Bagalkote, struck with his daring conduct, interceded on his behalf. He was pardoned and restored to his village, with the restitution of his rights, on his giving security for future good conduct. He lived peaceably the rest of his days, and died four years ago in the possession of the office of *patel*, or head man of Magee, his paternal village.

IV.

A BRAVE DEFENCE.

Dewan Gowda, of Reddier Naganoor, in Roan Taluk, a fine old Reddy Patel, told me a few days ago the following incident, that happened to himself, very illustrative of the state of this province before the British conquest. On the occasion of a festival in A.D. 1802, he had gone to visit Bheema Gowda, of Hoalkote, in Dummul Taluk, his near relation. That very day Bála Sahib Rastiah, who was then at variance with Bheema Row Moondurgee, usurper of the territories of Dummul, in which Hoalkote was included, marched against the village with 500 horse, 1,000 foot, and two guns, and attacked it at daybreak. Dewan Gowda, his brother and six ryots were the only defenders, and kept the assailants at bay for some time. At last, when all were wounded and unable to move from place to place, the enemy

mounted the wall with ladders and got into the town. Dewan Gowda then descended and, knowing the place, continued to fall on the assailants from the different streets, which were narrow and crooked ; and though he had little or no assistance from the others, he contrived to check the progress of the enemy till at length he was driven to his last refuge, one of the bastions, difficult of ascent ; and here, towards evening, he prepared to sell his life as dearly as he could, the enemy being highly enraged against him, and vowing his death. Bheema Row, however, having heard of the raid, was hastening to succour the town ; when he appeared in sight with about 300 chosen horse, Rastiah retired, and the villagers, headed by Dewan Gowda, weary and wounded as he was, rose against those who had got inside, and drove them out. He is covered with wounds, which he shows with a modest pride. Though a fine stout old man, he does not differ in manner or appearance from the other ryots. He is much esteemed for his probity and good conduct.

V.

MERCANTILE PROBITY.

There is an old Sowcar now residing in Dharwar who often comes to see me. He is a Goozrathee, originally from Aurungabad ; his name, Chetur Doss Sirji. He was formerly possessed of great wealth ; but having advanced heavy loans to Gokla, Bheema Row and other Mahratta Sirdars in Poonah and this province, has lost nearly two lakhs of rupees. Nearly thirty years ago, Mahdoo Row, an accountant of Budr ool Zeman Khan, when the fort belonged to Tippoo, had deposited a sum of Rs. 25,000 in in Chetur Doss' house. This sum was placed on a shelf behind the door of the inner rooms, while an equal sum belonging to the Sowcar himself was contained in his cash-chest on the floor of the same apartment. One night a gang of robbers broke into the house ; the strong box was rifled, but the money on the shelf escaped the notice of the thieves. No one knew this, however, but Chetur Doss himself, and in the morning Mahdoo Row never doubted

but that he was a ruined man. Conceive then his astonishment and joy when Chetur Doss explained that he alone was the sufferer, and that a lucky chance had preserved his friend's property.

VI.

AN HEROIC ESCAPE.

The Muhammadan princes of Mysore, adopting the policy of destroying and breaking down all old-established families in their different conquests, among those of other Poligars, or petty chiefs, had sequestered the lands of the Harpanhalli Rajah,* whose adherents made many ineffectual attempts to recover them. In A.D. 1774, Humparsappa and Chintappa having taken possession of Kotoor, Oochangidroog, and other strongholds for the Rajah, Seyd Ghuffoor was despatched with 2,000 infantry, 1,000 horse, and 15 guns, to quell the insurrections. Having taken Oochangidroog, in which were found 200 prisoners (the rest of the garrison escaped), he proceeded to Kotoor, which held out for fifteen days, when the chief people, with part of the garrison, despairing of success, fled in the night; and Seyd Ghuffoor, on taking possession, found only about 100 prisoners more. All these were men of inferior rank, being common village folk; but, to strike terror into the country, Seyd Ghuffoor ordered that each should be deprived of his right hand. They were accordingly tied in a line to one large rope, close to Koturavva's temple, as cattle are fastened at night. Each individual was guarded by two men with drawn swords, and the troops were drawn up in line, the horse behind the infantry. When the work of mutilation had proceeded some time, the ground covered with blood, and many of the unfortunate wretches lying insensible on the ground, one of those remaining, named Khawas Chenna Viriah, said to the man next him, that it was better to rush on the guards and be killed at once than suffer such agony; but the latter refused, and was soon after led out and muti-

* Harpanhalli and all the other places mentioned in this anecdote are in the present district of Bellary [R. S.].

lated. The next in line was Chenna Viriah, who, the instant he was unloosed, threw himself on the guards, knocked one down, seized his sword, killed the other, and started off. Seyd Ghuffoor immediately directed pursuit, but ordered him to be taken alive, and promised a large reward. He was three or four times overtaken ; but, being determined not to yield with life, and the orders to take him alive being imperative, he always escaped, killing or wounding some of his pursuers, till, on reaching the Gudikota jungle, he eluded the chase, and got clear away. Chenna Viriah now lives in the village of Nandibandi, where the Harpanhalli Rajah, on his restoration by the British Government, granted him lands. He walks about with a club, but never carries arms.

VII.

MAHRATTA CHIVALRY.

Among the retainers of Dowlat Row Ghorpade were two brothers, his relations, named Yeswant Row and Mallojee Row Ghorpade. They were in the habit of levying black mail from the districts of Nurgoond, Dummul, and Copal, a refusal of which was, as usual, resented by driving the cattle, plundering, etc. The zemindars of these three places, more powerful than the generality of their class, resolved, in A.D. 1773, to oppose the exactions of the Mahrattas. Watching their opportunity, whilst the two Ghorpades were on a foraging expedition, and had seized on the cattle of Hurlapoor in Dummul Taluk, and those of a village in the Copal district, the three zemindars secretly assembled their followers to the number of 500 horse and 3,000 foot, with which they formed an ambush between Kookanoor and Kulloor. The Ghorpades, returning with 300 horse and the cattle they had lifted, on approaching their own confines, sent on the latter with the bulk of the horsemen, while the two chiefs and about forty followers came leisurely behind. The ambush offered no opposition to the first body, but rose against the second, and attempted to cut them off. The Mahrattas, however, being better mounted and all good soldiers, were retreating with considerable ease, keeping the

foremost of their pursuers at bay without difficulty, when one of the zemindars called out to Yeswant Row, in a taunting manner, that he styled himself "*Ameer-ool-oomrah*," and wore a *Sirje* * as his crest, and yet he feared to turn and face the assault of an enemy. Stung at the imputation, he wheeled round, and, striking down several men, he got so completely into the body of the enemy, that he was surrounded, his horse killed, and himself badly wounded. He endeavoured to disengage the *sirje* from his bridle, as it would have been dishonourable to escape without it; but in the act of loosing it he was killed. Mallojee, on seeing the predicament of his brother, hastened to his assistance, followed by about thirty of his men. Being considerably in advance, he was severely wounded in upwards of twenty places, and was only able, with the greatest difficulty and after severe loss, to recover the dead body of his brother and the *sirje* which had occasioned the disaster. With these he escaped to Yelboorga, whither also Dowlat Row, on hearing the melancholy event, joined him, and soon afterwards gave him the village of Kulloor in reward for his gallant conduct. Mallojee Row recovered from his wounds, and afterwards joined his relation, the famous Morári Row, and was killed at Gooby in an action against the Mysore troops.

VIII.

COSTLY CHARITY TO STRANGERS.

[This note was written by Sir Walter Elliot, about the year 1829.—R. S.]

The following incident was related to me by Bheemajee Timajee, Koolkarneet of Somankuttee, near Ramdroog, to whose grandmother the circumstance occurred.

About forty-five years ago, whilst Tippoo Sooltan had possession of the Southern Mahratta country, Kone Row

* The *Sirje* is a fabulous heraldic animal, the image of which, worn on the top of the bridle, pledges the rider never to decline the combat whensoever challenged.

† Village accountant. These officials are, as a rule, amongst the best educated and most influential members of the village community.

was Amildar* of Hoongoond, and Bishto Punt of Badámee, both of them distinguished for their acts of liberality and charity, particularly to poor and distressed Bramins. In 1784 A.D., about 300 Brahmans, flying from the persecutions in Mysore, were on their way to solicit the protection and assistance of these persons. They had set out from Nurgoond in the morning, and marched twelve miles to Soman-kuttee, where they arrived about two o'clock p.m., and sat down under a large tree on the bund† of the tank. It was the hottest part of the year, and the party was overcome with fatigue and thirst. The eastern part of the Dooáb is very ill supplied with water, many villages being totally unprovided with this necessary ; and all except those on the Malpurba river suffer severely during the hot weather, which is here very excessive. The people of Somankuttee at this season are obliged to travel a distance of three miles for water, which they bring on their bullocks, each animal carrying four pots. Bheemajee, the Koolkarnee, seeing the distress of the Brahmins, brought water from his own house which had been so carried, and offered it to them. But they, being of very high caste, and strict in all their observances, were prohibited from drinking water that had not been brought according to rule by a Brahmin who had previously bathed and purified himself, whereas this, carried on bullocks and filled by the Koolkarnee's servants, was utterly unfit. They therefore continued sitting in great distress, several having fainted under the burning sun, while the poor Koolkarnee sat looking on in great tribulation at the idea of some of them dying in his village without his having the means of affording relief. At length he recollected that several ryots of the village had that year carried their cotton crops to the market of Wallajahnuggur in the Carnatic and had brought back a return of cocoanuts, which they were selling in the country. He immediately purchased fifteen bullock-loads, the milk of which,

* Head of a táluk, or division of a district.

† Artificial embankment.

causing the Brahmans to put on their solês,* he gave them to drink. All were relieved; and thus refreshed by the Koolkarnee's liberality, they proceeded to Tallikal, about six miles further.

IX.

SKETCH OF A SOUTHERN MAHRATTA LEADER.

The following sketch of the life of Bheema Row Mondurga,† a man who acted a prominent part in the troubled scenes of the Southern Mahratta country before it fell under British rule, contains several incidents illustrative both of individual character and of the state of society at the period. The information was obtained chiefly from Bheema Row's son, who was in the public service; and I have also heard most of the facts related by many people at Dummul, his contemporaries and eye-witnesses of what they told.

Bheema Row *Timajee* was son of the Koolkarnee, of Kalkerry, and a retainer of a still more powerful zemindar, the Deşae of Dummul. His parents died when he was young, and he remained in the house of his relations till he was twelve years old, when he set off to try and obtain some means of livelihood, and reached Punderpoor. There he was seen by a man named Kristnappa Naik, an old man without family, whose wife, learning from the boy that he was an orphan and friendless, took him into their house and treated him like one of the family. He remained there two years, assisting the old man in his business, about which time Narsingáchári, his relation, happening to be at Punder-

* The solê is a cincture of silk cloths, the only garment worn by Brahmans when eating, and reserved specially for that purpose.

† *Note.* I knew this family well. His young son, M. Runga Rao, on the conquest of the Southern Mahratta country, was befriended by the late Mr. St. John Thackeray, the Political Agent and Principal Collector, who attached him to me when I joined my first district. He became my Munshi, or Secretary, during the whole of my service in that district, from 1823 to 1843. [W. E.]

For an account of Mr. Thackeray's tragical death, see the sketch of the life of Sir Walter Elliot (*above*, Vol. I., p. 186). [R. S.]

poor, recognised him and persuaded him to return, the old man giving him a present of Rs.400 for his marriage expenses.

About this time (*i.e.* about A.D. 1790) Tippoo Sultán had seized upon all the private estates in his newly-acquired territories of Bellary, etc., and, among others, had dispossessed the Raja or Poligar of Harpanhalli of his principality. This chief made frequent attempts to recover his patrimony, both through his own exertions and those of his friends, among whom he numbered the neighbouring Deśae of Dummul. He accordingly applied to him for succour. The young Bheema Row had not long returned to his family, and his enterprising spirit prompted him to undertake the expedition. He went across the river with about 500 men raised in his own villages, and took possession of the village of Huggarnoor, in the name of the Harpanhalli Rajah.

The Musalman governor of the province immediately marched to the place with a strong force, and after three days' fighting the garrison—having exhausted their ammunition—capitulated. The Muhammadan commander ordered all the prisoners to be bound, and sentenced them each to lose a hand; but Bheema Row was confined separately and no order given regarding him. He no sooner heard, however, that the order of mutilation had gone forth than he requested the chief to pardon the poor followers, who had only acted under the orders of their superiors, and to accept his own hand in redemption of theirs. The Musalman consented, and ordered his soldiers to "strike off the Bramin's right hand to mar his writing," which was done accordingly. His followers carried him away, and ever after continued most staunch in his cause, and contributed to his support during his recovery, which was both long and doubtful.

Bheema Row's patrimonial estate in Kalkerry had, for some time, been resumed by the Nizam's Government, to whom that district belonged, and an old ryot of the

Dhungar* (shepherd) caste, who was much attached to the family, urged Bheema Row to attempt the recovery of his lands ; but the latter declared he was too poor, and that it would be quite impossible without presenting large nuzzers. The old man carried him out to his field alone, and, digging in a certain spot, showed him a pot filled with coins, which he had never counted, but the whole of which he offered to the son of his old master. Bheema Row wished to borrow half, but the old man would not hear of it. He retained the amount of two years' rent only, and compelled Bheema Row to take the rest. On counting it, he found the sum to be about Rs.12,000, with which, and with another Rs.8,000 which he raised in other quarters, chiefly from his own ryots, he went to Copaldroog, and obtained, not only the restitution of his patrimony, but the management of the whole Kalkerry District, averaging Rs.20,000 per annum. From this he continued to prosper ; and making good use of his interest with the Nizam's officers, he not only obtained several new grants of lands, but the management of a whole taluk, paying a revenue of Rs.100,000 per annum.

In this state he continued about six years, enjoying great prosperity ; but the rest of his life was a continued scene of strife and contention to the time of his death.

When the Muhammadan rulers of Mysore obtained possession of the Southern Mahratta country, they pursued their usual policy of destroying all the great families, and resuming their estates. Among these was the Deşae of Dummul, and the Sir Deşae, the ancient chief to whom Bheema Row's family had long been attached. The Deşae was for many years a pensioner of the Peishwa, receiving a yearly allowance of Rs.5,000 ; but his villages were not restored when the province was given back to the Mahrattas. Shortly before the destruction of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo, he had made some attempt to recover

* The Dhungars are remarkable for their simplicity and sincerity of character. They are good industrious ryots, and, though so ignorant that they can scarcely tell the amount of their rent, often attain great prosperity.

his old patrimony, and had written to Bheema Row, asking him to exert himself in the cause. The latter did not fail, and the Deşae took the field at the head of a predatory force. He was expelled from Dummul by General Wellesley soon after, and was hanged over his own gateway. Bheema Row, the chief actor in the affair, escaped, and taking the infant son of the Deşae under his protection, he assumed the whole management of the estate. After General Wellesley's summary proceedings, only two villages of the old Dummul estate remained in Bheema Row's hands. Sukkaram Row Shahjee then took possession of Dummul, and after a year, it became included in the extensive grant made to Babu Gokla by the ex-Peishwa, comprising, Nowlgowd, Dummul, and most of the country in that neighbourhood. Under him, Bheema Row administered the Dummul territory for twelve years, during part of which, he maintained a mortal feud with Bala Sahib Rastiah for the possession of some frontier villages in the neighbourhood of Rone. The whole country was laid waste, and is now an extensive jungle, filled with wild hog and *nilgai*.* The last four years (from 1806) he was engaged in a dispute with Nagana Gowda, who administered the whole of the districts of about nine lakhs per annum, between the Tangabhadra and Kistna rivers, belonging to the Nizam, in which was included the Kalkerry estate. During the quarrel, Bheema Row renounced the superiority of the Nizam's officers, and declared that he held Kalkerry from the Gokla, on the part of the Peishwa. Bheema Row contrived to foil every effort of Nagana Gowda to oust him, and finally annexed the disputed district to the Mahratta State, as part of which it fell under the authority of the British Government, and is now incorporated in the Dummul Taluk of the Southern Mahratta country. The district suffered severely from Nagana Gowda's raids.

It was during this disturbed period of his career, when he

* The hog abounded to such a degree when the district was re-peopled, during the first years of the British Government, that the ryots had great difficulty in paying their rents. Mr. Thackeray therefore exacted from the story a certain number of tusks every month, which for some time were paid very regularly.

sometimes maintained a body of several thousand horse, that three Pathan soldiers, in the reckless disposition characteristic of their tribe, having taken offence at some real or imagined grievance, seized upon the only son of Bheema Row, and barricading themselves in a house, threatened to destroy themselves and the child unless their demands were complied with. The stern and decided character of the chief indisposed him to yield to intimidation what he would not grant to a free request; and though the birth of this only child had been the object of his wishes for many years, he ordered some guns to be placed against the gate, and refused to adopt conciliatory measures. At length, after a whole day of suspense, his friends promised to furnish the Pathans with a sum of money and a good horse each, and to give a free passage across the frontier. The child was released, and the men set forth. But Bheema Row, ordering some horsemen to follow, put them to death within a few miles of Dummul. "It was by such departures from good faith," said his son (the child above mentioned) to me, "that in the end lost my father his life and property, and reduced his family to obscurity."

In 1810, Gokla, who had long been jealous of Bheema Row's power and ability, which was augmented by the partiality evinced by the Peishwa towards him during his first pilgrimage to the temple Kartik Swamy, at Sandur, in 1808-9 (in consequence of which Bajee Row subsequently expressed a wish to see him at Poona) resolved on his destruction. It was not easy to entrap a person of Bheema Row's vigilance and foresight. At length, however, under a solemn pledge of safety, confirmed by oath, he induced him to pay him a visit in his fort. Though strongly dissuaded, Bheema Row attended, was seized, and carried to the strong castle of Sawundutty, and there poisoned, as the native version has it, by a powdered diamond being mingled in his drink. Four villages in Dummul district were allotted for the support of his family, which they still hold. The remark of Bheema Row's son regarding his father's insincerity, applies equally well to Gokla's treachery, who seven years afterwards lost his possessions and his life at Ashtu.

X.

AN HONEST INSOLVENT.

[This seems to be one of Sir W. Elliot's earliest Notes. The honourable and straightforward behaviour of all concerned may little interest the general reader; but the story is not without significance to those who have resided in India.—R. S.]

Afzulpoor Gungappa was the grandson of a flourishing merchant of Bâgalkote, Afzulpoor Nandappa, who had a capital of Rs.200,000 and agents at Merij, Poona, Nagpoor, etc. By family divisions among his descendants, Gungappa only inherited about 15,000 to 20,000 Rupees; but by the established credit of the house, his annual ventures extended to even Rs.60,000. Ten years ago, as his trade was flourishing, he spent about Rs.50,000 on religious observances. Two years later, before he had repaired his extravagance, he suffered considerable losses; for prices fell through the influx of European articles, and consumption diminished after the British conquest. His silk investment caused a loss of 25 per cent., and he became insolvent in 1826. A Commission of Bankruptcy was chosen among his chief creditors to manage his estate. They began by declaring their perfect confidence in the good faith and honour of Gungappa, and that they would accept his own statement of his property, without examining his accounts. So Gungappa prepared a schedule of his effects. From this the Commission deducted the ordinary jewels of his wife and daughters and Rs.800 for his own subsistence. The rest yielded nearly 25 per cent. This all accepted, Only two or three creditors from Bombay disagreed. Such, however, was Gungappa's sense of justice, that though the proceedings of the Commission were instituted and confirmed by the officers of Government, he actually tried to conciliate even those few dissatisfied creditors, by giving the jewels and the small sum granted for his subsistence to increase their dividends. He did this quite secretly, and he always denied it; but no doubt exists of the fact. He has always borne the character of a just man, prompt to fulfil his own obligations, slow to exact them from others. These circumstances occurred under my own observation; and I was greatly struck by the probity, justice, and humanity shown by all parties.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. III. page 207).

XI.

A CASE OF DEIFICATION.

[The following is a succinct account of a case of deification brought to Sir Walter Elliot's notice, when in the Northern Sarkárs, a district of the Presidency, on the east coast, about 250 miles north of Madras. Masulipatam is the chief town of the Krishnâ (officially called Kistna) districts; and Nandigama is the capital of an inland Táluk, or division. In the Nandigama Táluk is a village called Lingalapádu, wherein is a small temple dedicated to the worship of Lakshamma. Every village, in Southern India has its tutelary village goddess, a malevolent spirit, refraining from evil only when propitiated by sacrifices and worship; and it is not improbable that the adoration of many of these had its origin in cases of deification, such as the present. The facts here are, however, so recent as to make the event highly interesting. The narrative is abridged from a written statement given to Sir Walter by a native official.—R.S.]

On the night of 1st *Mágha*, in the year *Sádhárana* (January, 1851), the body of Lakshamma, wife of Venkiah, brother of Chirumamilla Subiah, an inhabitant and village-Munsiff (head man) of Lingálapadu, was burned: she was said to have died of a snake-bite, but the local authorities were not told of the accident. Mr. Porter, the late Collector of Masulipatam, was then at Ibrahimpatam, Taluk of Bezoarah, when Degumarty Ramanah, brother of the deceased, sent him a petition by post, stating that she had been killed by her husband. The petition received on the 19th January, was referred on the 19th February for investigation to the head police officer of Nandigam. The official report, after careful inquiry, was that she had really died of a snake-bite, and had not been murdered. The late Collector also personally investigated the case. Before him the petitioner, Digumarty Ramanah, deposed that the petition was not his, but had been forged in his name, that its statements were false and that his sister Lakshamma

died of a snake-bite ; all which was corroborated by the village Munsiff. The papers were all duly filed.

About three or four months after the death of Lakshamma, some houses accidentally took fire. The cause was unknown, though soothsayers were duly consulted. Meanwhile the deceased Lakshamma was reported to have appeared on several occasions in different places in a white costume ; whence people gave out at once, according to the Hindu belief, that she was metamorphosed into a devil.

Soon after, a person, as if inspired by the Deity, declared that Lakshamma had become a goddess, that it was she who had set fire to the houses ; and that if temples were erected and consecrated to her, and festivals celebrated in her name, she would cease to hurt and would promote the welfare of the villagers ; if not, she would set fire to the remaining houses. This being unheeded, certain straw stacks were set on fire. To escape such calamities the people determined to comply with the request. Ganáchárlu, the person inspired, declared that temples must be erected and dedicated to Lakshamma, Akkammah, and Seetama ; and three idols representing these goddesses should be consecrated in the pagodas. Lakshamma, on being asked regarding the forms of these idols, replied through Ganáchárlu, that she had in a dream instructed a sculptor at Condapilly how to make them, and that the villagers should bring the idols into the pagodas with tom-toms, and sacrifice goats and buffaloes to her. Some of the villagers going to Condapilly found to their astonishment three idols ready at the sculptor's, who, when asked, said that Lakshamma appeared to him in a dream, and promising to assist him in every way and to bless him with a son, told him to make the idols in this particular form, to be delivered into the hands of the villagers. This he did.

Since then, festivals have been celebrated every Friday, and attended by as many as 4, or 5,000 persons. They remain there the whole night, when Lakshamma, through Ganáchárlu, declares publicly the wish of each individual,

and also directs him for obtaining it to undergo certain penances, such as going round the temple for 5 or 10 weeks, etc. A few of Lakshamma's votaries had undoubtedly obtained their desires, and several persons under the influence of evil spirits had been freed ; whereupon men afflicted with various diseases flocked to the pagoda of Lakshamma ; and festivals were (and are) celebrated with unabated splendour, from Wednesday to Friday. Crowds come from all quarters—Hyderabad, Cumnum Mattu, Nallakonda, Bhadradi, and other places in the Nizam's territories, and also from Bunder, Ellore, Kykalore, Goodavada, Bezoarah, etc. Barren women, persons deprived of the use of their limbs, or afflicted with other diseases, come to Lingalapadu for these festivals, and, bathing in the well near the pagoda of Lakshamma, prostrate themselves in their wet clothes in an apartment in her temple, while one of the attendants there sprinkles saffron water over them. Thus prostrate they remain for 4 or 5 hours, directing their thoughts fixedly on Lakshamma. Each becomes entranced, and feels as if some supernatural power were telling each one whether his or her expectations are to be realized or not. In proof of the former, Lakshamma, during these trances, places in each one's lap either saffron, a fruit, or a small golden idol, the last omen being considered the most propitious. Owing to these proofs of her supernatural power, 100 or 200 individuals thus prostrate themselves in the pagoda of Lakshamma every Friday night. It is generally said that the prayers of Lakshamma's votaries are rewarded by the accomplishing of their objects ; but not a single instance of a blind man having recovered his sight, or a barren woman being blessed with children, is adduced to attest these supernatural powers.

Some females of rank and distinction in the Zemindaries, in the Nizam's dominions, who were under the influence of evil spirits, etc., having bathed in the well, and performed the required penance, found in their laps saffron, fruit, golden idols, etc. They thereupon presented Lakshamma with

rich clothes, golden ornaments, etc. Every Friday more than 100 Rs. are collected in the pagoda. Lakshamma has ordered a stone temple to be built, and a tank to be dug near it. The pagoda has accordingly been erected at a cost of 5000 Rs., and the idol representing Lakshamma is consecrated in it; and the people have already commenced to dig a tank. Lakshamma says, through Ganáchárlu, that those who bathe in the tank when completed, will not only be relieved from evil spirits, but also from all diseases, and barren women will be blessed with children; but the truth of this assertion has still to be tested. The spot where the body of Lakshamma was burned is named *Bandáru*, or sacred earth. Her votaries take a handful of it to keep as a relic, and they place a little of it on the foreheads of sick children, and of those possessed by evil spirits. From the *Bandáru* having been thus taken away, a pit was formed, ten feet deep, whence issued a spring, which filled it with water. This is held sacred and of extraordinary virtue, and is carried away in great quantities by the ryots, who sprinkle it on crops injured by rain or inundation, in the belief that it will repair the damage done.

Lakshamma declares, through Ganáchárlu, that she did not die from a snake-bite, but was killed by her husband with a dagger, that the fact was wrongfully concealed, and that she has cursed those who bore false witness in her case, devoting them to grow mad and roam over the world. There are no means to prove or disprove this matter.

Lakshamma generally appears to some of those who are on their way to Lingálupádu, like a Muttaida, or woman whose husband is alive; and after purchasing glass bracelets from them (if they have any), puts them on and goes on her way, saying, that she is proceeding to the Kristna and Godavery to perform ablutions, and will return within eight days. She requests them also to tell this to her brother-in-law, Chirumamilla Subiah. After walking a few paces she suddenly disappears, whence the travellers

conclude that she is Lakshamma, and tell everyone so. In confirmation of this, Ganáchárlu, during the period of her absence from Lingálapádu, does not play his part, nor is any answer given to the votaries of Lakshamma; but after the time specified by her, things take their former course, Ganáchárlu comes into play, the festivals proceed, etc. Last March splendid festivals were celebrated for 10 consecutive nights, and people from a radius of 200 miles attended, some offering sacrifices of buffaloes, goats, etc., while others made presents of money, women's clothes, ornaments, etc. Many talk of their desires having been fulfilled.

Chirumamilla Subiah, brother-in-law of Lakshamma, distributes alms to the poor in rice, out of the gifts made to her every Friday.

[After this follows a translation of a poem relating to Lakshamma. I abridge it from the copy in Sir Walter's note-book, by a native clerk.—R. S.]

My sister-in-law (says Lakshamma) one day fell out with me, and bursting into tears, resolved on my destruction. To effect this she, a few days afterwards, told my husband (Venkia) that I intended to give my only daughter in marriage to a man I had chosen, and to live with them separately, taking with me my portion of the common property. My husband, hearing this false and disgraceful affair, sighed deeply, and looked angrily at me, and I feared that his ill-suppressed fury would cost me my life. I was extremely grieved at his having so hastily resolved on vengeance against me. Strange to say, all the family, except my eldest brother-in-law, conceived a hatred against me. "Oh it is impossible," said my consort, to his eldest brother, "to sound the heart of a woman! She does not distinguish a good from a bad thing; but on the contrary is ready to commit any crime." I saw at once that this observation was directed against me, and I thought of committing suicide as an escape; but on further consideration I abandoned my resolve, because suicide would bring disgrace upon my family, and make me incur the displeasure

of the Almighty. Meanwhile, my husband told his eldest brother, that in future he should feel little or no love for me ; that I should be at once turned out of the house, and sent to my parents, for having determined to give my only daughter in marriage to an unworthy man, and to live separately. On this, my eldest brother-in-law guessed that some evil was about to happen. He told his brother that those were merely women's words, neither all true, nor trustworthy ; that the domestic affairs of the " Kamma " people * should not be published out of doors ; and that it was beneath his dignity to form so rash a resolve, which he begged him to give up. On this, my husband said, " What nonsense is this ? If this become public, a great stain will be put on our family." In vain my eldest brother-in-law reasoned with him: " My brother, believe me," said he, " the mind of a female is that of a Rákshasi ; † females should neither be abused nor beaten." While thus trying in various ways to pacify my husband's wrath, he was obliged to go on a journey to Nandigam.

The third night after his departure all the family assembled and conversed secretly ; and I inferred that they were conspiring against me, taking advantage of the absence of my eldest brother-in-law. While I thought thus, my husband rushed into my room, and beat me with his fists ; then he sharpened a sword, and followed me to the place where I had concealed myself, fearing that *Yama*, the god of death, was come. Finding no shelter in the house I tried to escape ; but he ran after me, and seized me, and dragging me into a room in the house, stabbed me in several parts of my body, particularly lacerating my hands and face. Strange to say, not one of the family was merciful enough to restrain my enraged husband from stabbing me ! They all witnessed the cruel scene, and, to the disgrace of humanity, feasted their eyes with it. They cried unanimously, " Come here, come here, that is not the proper way. Do not cut

* The *Kammas* are the highest caste of cultivators, and are generally Lingayets.

† Female demon.

her ; there is a sharp dagger, take it, and run it through her heart with a good aim." At this suggestion, my cruel, hard-hearted, and relentless husband took the dagger in his right hand, and killed me at one blow, at 10 o'clock p.m., on the second day of the increasing moon of the month of *Mágha*, in the year *Sádhárana*, while I was hiding myself, trembling, in a corner of the house. Soon after this, my remains were quietly carried to the *Smasánam* (or burning place), where they were burned with the usual ceremonies. My enemies, having thus quenched their thirst for my blood, consulted to invent a plausible story for my death. Meanwhile, I devoted myself to the worship of Siva, and continued to tender my humble services to *Párvatí*. But seeing that my enemies were concocting a story, built upon great falsehoods, regarding the cause of my death, I was exceedingly indignant, and began to adopt measures to take vengeance upon the murderer, his abettors, and those that had helped to hush up the murder. Soon after departing this life, I appeared to my eldest brother-in-law in a dream, and informed him of what had occurred. Startled at hearing this unexpected account, he set out immediately from Nandigam for his home. I appeared to him when on his way to Lingalapádu, and said, "Oh my eldest brother-in-law ! my consort, urged by the others of the family, took advantage of your absence, and murdered me with a dagger." At these words he was thunderstruck. Continuing his journey he reached home, and, being informed of my fate, he wept bitterly, and said to his brother : "My brother, what a shocking crime you have committed ! Why, we are undone ! The officers of justice will come in crowds. My dream is perfectly verified. Even if we showered rupees, there is very little chance of escape ; for murder will out. Shall I lament the death of my sister-in-law, or for you who will be undoubtedly hanged not long hence ?" While he was thus swimming in the ocean of sorrow, not knowing what to do, two persons named Mudigonda Virésalingam, and Darbhákala Guruvanna, came to my brother-in-law, and

encouraged him, saying, that they would prevail upon the Munsiff and Curnams to hush up what had really taken place, and give out that I died from a snake-bite. My brother-in-law, naturally wishing to save his brother's life, agreed to their proposals, but through no ill-will against me

On the seventh day of my penance, Siva appeared to me and told me to ask a favour. I begged of him to reconstitute four of the elements of my life, viz. fire, water, air, and spirit, into a deity; and to endow the fifth element, earth—my dust remaining in this world—with supernatural powers. Siva not only granted the request, but also bestowed his blessing, promising that daily, weekly and yearly festivals should be celebrated in my honour, for 100 years, throughout the world; and he generously endowed me with supernatural powers to communicate with the people at large, about the past, present, and future.

My brother-in-law, my husband, and others, having, as I have stated, decided on suppressing the fact that I had been murdered, gave out that I died from a snake-bite, and engaged some false witnesses to make this untrue statement to my relatives. I, however, conveyed to them the real cause of my death, long before these letters reached them. The headmen of Lingalapádu having assembled together, believed the false evidence regarding my death, and transmitted the record to the Tahsildar,* who, thinking the matter of no great weight, ordered a Sub-magistrate to investigate the case. He came to the village and learnt from the people generally that I was murdered by my husband; but instead of doing justice to me, he availed himself of this opportunity for extortion. Urged by corruption and avarice, he made his eyeballs red, and threatened my brother-in-law, etc., that he would injure them by exposing the whole truth, unless 400 Rupees were given to him. But the said Virésalingam pacified him. "Sir," said he, in a humble tone, "you are a lord and a charitable man. It is now in your power to protect the

* The chief native official of the division.

poor. Do so, therefore, and do not be hasty. Stay in our house, and there take your meals, if you please. I will in a few moments satisfy your wishes." That same evening, this mediator requested the magistrate to accept of a bribe of 40 Rupees and to draw up a false statement, confirming the one transmitted by the headmen of the village, that death had resulted from a snake-bite, and so drawn up as to leave no room for further suspicion. Irritated by this trifling offer, the sub-magistrate immediately drew up a true statement of the case as a murder, on the strength of what he had heard from the villagers generally; and he was about to set out to Nandigam, when Virésalingam, after a private conversation with my eldest brother-in-law and my husband, took a sum of 90 Rupees as a present to the fiery magistrate. Accepting this bribe, he destroyed the true statement he had prepared, and in its place he drew up a false one, coinciding with that transmitted by the village people. He submitted the depositions given by the false witnesses, together with other papers bearing upon the case, to the Tahsildar. This man had meanwhile learned the true facts of the case from some of his own servants; nor did he submit the report to the Collector,* until a bribe of 100 Rupees had been given to him also. Thus ended this investigation.

To return; my parents having received a letter from my eldest brother-in-law, falsely stating that I had died from a snake-bite, contrary to the dream which told them that I had been murdered by my husband, began to entertain suspicion regarding my death, and questioned the messenger who brought the letter. "Please tell us," said they, "what part of her body was bitten? Where was she? And what was she doing then? What were the last words of our darling daughter? And who were attending on her at the time of her death? In short, inform us of all the particulars of her death." Thunderstruck at these unexpected questions, before a crowd of people, the messenger,

* The English chief of the district.

humbly folding his hands, said, with a trembling voice : “ What can I say ? To tell the truth, Lakshamma’s husband ran a sword through her body, and so put an end to the life of your darling daughter.” “ Oh ! virtuous gem ! ” exclaimed my parents and others, “ you have been relieved from your troubles, you have left this transient world. Oh, we hope you are now in the service of Parvati ! ” Thus my parents continued their bitter lamentations, when I said, through Ganáchárlu : “ Oh, my father, why should you all weep for me ? The human frame is not everlasting ! It is said in the sacred books that honour should be secured even at the expense of life ; for life is short, but honour is everlasting as the sun, moon, and stars, studded in the concave heavens. You know the sacred books say nothing false. I have lost my life, to preserve my honour ; my fate will be highly praised by succeeding generations. Cease, then, to mourn for me ; put away my memory ; and live happily. Listen to me, my old father,” I continued. “ I fell a victim to the vengeance of my mother-in-law’s party, by the sword of my husband, after experiencing innumerable and unheard of difficulties in my father-in-law’s house.” My parents having thus learnt the true facts of my death, fell out with my husband’s party, and went to Masulipatam to prefer a complaint in the proper Criminal Court and to obtain justice. But my eldest brother-in-law followed my father to Masulipatam with a bag of a thousand pagodas (3500 Rupees) and said : “ O ! my father-in-law, it is true that we have committed murder ; but please accept this money, and save the life of my brother and your son-in-law. We will give you whatever you require, if you only save him, whose life is now at your mercy.” Riches generally prevail against right, and so in this case wealth overcame my father’s affections for me, and induced him to join my murderers. O, God ! where is my father ? where my mother ? and where are my relatives ? How disgraceful, that they did not resist the temptation of money ! One and all forsook the just cause

of their once darling daughter for a trifle of base money. It is rare that a husband murders his wife, even though she commits adultery. Was it justifiable for my consort to kill me? Of those individuals that bore false witness in this murder case, through their avarice, some were suddenly destroyed, and their houses consumed by fire, others perished otherwise. I then desired my eldest brother-in-law to erect temples in my honour, and to establish my worship. As he declined to do so, I began to trouble my husband and my eldest brother-in-law incessantly, night and day. Then the people assembled together and thought it expedient to build pagodas and celebrate festivals to me. Meanwhile, my wonderful supernatural powers spread throughout the world, and a vast concourse came from all quarters to worship me. The sick and the wounded, the poor, and those possessed by evil spirits, flocked to my pagodas, praying to be relieved from their pains. Those that had no children, and in short, all that had any cause for complaint, had recourse to me for help. I accordingly cured the sick, and blessed barren women with children; and I satisfied generally the wants of the people, and accomplished their desires. O! People! if you say that Lakshamma was not killed by her husband, happiness of the next world will flee from you; if you say that this poem was composed through party spirit, it will be like the crime of killing a cow at Benares; and if you declare that I died from the bite of a serpent, the whole world will be filled with sins. Be assured of all these facts, and conduct yourselves as you ought. What honours did the Tahsildar and the sub-Magistrate gain by receiving bribes of 100 Rupees and 90 Rupees respectively? What advantage did the false witnesses get from their bribes? What did my parents gain, after receiving thousands of Rupees, by relinquishing the cause of their daughter? Nothing but suspicions, imprisonments, disgrace, and loss of life, etc.

I then desired my eldest brother-in-law to have a pagoda built in honour of my name, to dig a tank and to

distribute alms to poor Brahmins, as also to all others, indiscriminately. Having told me that he would comply with my desires, he consulted his brother on this point. "Do not," said my husband, with his fiery disposition, "meddle with me. I have heard enough of all your desires. But you may yourself do whatever you like."

[*The poem is incomplete.*—R. S.]

Three years after these events, while investigating abuses in the Masulipatam district, I found the belief of the people very general that the woman had been murdered, and that the case had been hushed up through the venality of the native police. The reputation of the goddess Lakshamma was firmly established. Her spirit had appeared to many females of the district, of undoubted respectability, some of whom I saw and questioned. I found them firmly persuaded of the truth of what they thought they had seen.

Great numbers of votaries still flocked to the temple of the newly-deified goddess, and rich gifts poured in from distant places. Probably the story of the murder was not without foundation. The native public servants were then notoriously corrupt, and both the Sub-magistrate and Tahsildar referred to were, in the course of my inquiries, dismissed for numerous acts of malversation. The Ganáchári, a public censor, one of the village functionaries in the old municipal institutions of the country, no doubt turned the popular belief to his own advantage.—[W. E.]

XII.

CASTE FACTIONS.

[This note was written in 1829.—R. S.]

THE majority of the castes in the southern Mahratta country, are of the Lingayet persuasion. They are the chief agriculturists, traders, and mechanics, and are possessed of great wealth and influence, yet they are constantly opposed and annoyed by a small caste called

Huttgars, a name derived from a Canarese word, signifying "animosity." Insignificant in numbers, they earn considerable profits by their trade as weavers. Whenever they are in the same village with Lingayets, a quarrel is sure to ensue, which often ends in one party moving away and building on a spot by themselves; but such is the tenacity and obstinacy of the Huttgars, that they often get the better of their adversaries.

The town of Gaduk-Bettgerry, in the Dummul Taluk, is the place where these two factions are found in the greatest force, though scarce a trading village in the district is free from the dispute. Each is in fact two towns. Venkappiah, a former Deşae of Dummul, permitted the Hattgars to establish a separate community, owing to one of these caste feuds; and they built Bettgerry, about half a mile from their former residence. They have since grown in prosperity, till now they exceed in wealth and numbers the rival corporation, which has fallen off in latter years. The dispute, however, continues, and as several Huttgars still remain in Gaduk, and as the headman of the town and several cultivators residing in Bettgerry are Lingayets, every year some explosion takes place, generally connected with religious observances, or the treatment of the priests administering them.

In A.D. 1818, the first year of the British rule, Nagappiah, Deşae of Nowlgowd, happened to be passing through the town of Gaduk on horseback, accompanied by a rich Huttgar trader, in a hackery, or carriage, drawn by bullocks. Now neither of the contending castes will allow the other to pass through their bazaars, except on foot, and then generally with taunts and abuse. The Gaduk men seized this opportunity of insulting the Huttgars. Surrounding the carriage in a tumultuous manner, they asked him how he dared defile their bazaar; and, putting a broom into his hand, ordered him to sweep away the pollution, nor would they allow him to pass till he actually tried to sweep. The Huttgars revenged themselves for this insult at the ensuing religious festival, at a village near

Badáma, an occasion when both castes assemble in great numbers. They denied the right of the Lingayets to appear in procession, with their "Chelwaddee," a servant carrying a bell and large brass spoon as their insignia; and when their priest appeared on horseback in the procession, he was severely beaten and driven away. For two years the Lingayets vainly tried to re-establish their right, but not with much success; and during the two last they have ceased to attend this festival, though it constitutes a grand mart for the articles in which the traders deal. The Huttgars, however, were at no loss, for they both established shops themselves and brought traders to supply the rest.

To return to Bettgerry. Soon after the above outrage, the Lingayets followed suit by attempting to parade through Bettgerry the chief priest of their sect at Dummul, but the Huttgars drove him back and broke his palanquin.

In 1824, some of the Lingayets declared they would leave the village; but the Government refused to give them permission to build new houses. They, however, persisted; and, carrying away their old houses from Bettgerry, they built a new hamlet near Gaduk, which they called Shapoor where they continued to pay the taxes at which they had been assessed in Bettgerry.

From this period the mutual bad feeling seemed to increase, but nothing serious occurred till 1826, when the Huttgars, having carried their sacred books in procession through the town, the Lingayets of Bettgerry declared they must have a similar ceremony. Their attempt was, however, opposed by violence; their priest was beaten, and their party dispersed. They immediately complained to the Government, and both parties were ordered to suspend all such observances till the matter was settled. The Lingayets, feeling themselves the weaker party, shut up their shops and houses, suspended all their employments and business, and, going outside, encamped with their families in the plain. There were upwards of 200 tents, and they remained there full 3 months, in spite of all the efforts of the public officers.

The Huttgars now showed the full force of their animosity. Weavers, and acquainted with no mechanical art, they did all the work of their neighbours outside. For they went to the oilpress, and themselves expressed the oil from the grain. They set stalls in front of the shut-up traders' shops, and retailed grain, and all kinds of goods, for which their weaving habits, and the prejudices of caste, particularly unfitted them. When the Amildar objected to the fields lying waste, they offered to pay the rents. At length, the officers of Government, with much difficulty, effected a composition. The Lingayets agreed to return to their homes, if a Jungum priest was allowed to pass through the bazaar in procession. It was known that the Boosnoor chief priest had been in the habit of coming to the place as chief Censor—an extremely ancient institution, investing him with the character of a public officer. This, however, did not exactly satisfy the Lingayets, who wanted a new person with less equivocal rights. At last (1827-8), it was stated that the Faqueer-swamy of Seretty had many years ago been once allowed a passage. The Huttgars caught at the suggestion with avidity, and the Lingayets were also well pleased; for the Swamy is an old established priesthood of high reputation. The Faqueer-swamy came, and none were so loud in their welcome as the Huttgars. They tossed his "Chowrees;"* they put themselves under his palanquin, and would scarce allow the Lingayets to participate in their eager greetings. But when they reached the great Lingayet temple, and lodged him in the Guru-Muth or Penetralia, making large offerings of money, etc., they showed their enmity. The Faqueer-swamy has, from time immemorial, practised all the customs of the Muhammadans, though still a Lingayet; and long usage has caused this to be recognized as his privilege. The Huttgars had kept half a dozen poor Faqueers and other Muhammadans ready for the occasion. These now came to pay their respects to their (as well as the Lingayet) spiritual chief;

* Horsehair fly-whisks.

and after making their offerings and obeisance, they asked leave to hold a sacrifice. It was at once granted. In an instant the Huttgars, who had the animals ready, brought in half a dozen sheep. Their throats were cut by the Mussulmans, exclaiming "Bismillah!" The offering was made, and the rest dressed for food, and eaten in the Lingayet sanctum! Anyone acquainted with the horror of this sect at blood, leather, animal food, etc., in which they far exceed the Brahmins, may fancy their dismay and distress; but they had no redress. The Faqueer-swamy is an old recognized prelate, and they had to be silent.

The Lingayets remained quiet till 1829, when a turbulent priest, named the "Aravattmoon Yedi Tyer," or "the priest of 63 plates," came to Guduk. This name proceeds from the custom that, on his coming to a village, his votaries must, on the day of his arrival, lay out food for 9 Jungum priests, the second for 18, the third for 36, the fourth for 63; hence his name. Should the poor people hesitate or refuse, he sits fasting till they comply. This priest, supported by the Gaduk Lingayets, who urged on their more peaceable neighbours in Bettgerry, prepared to pass in procession through the streets of the latter place. This the Huttgars assembled in great numbers to oppose strenuously. The Lingayets again deserted their houses, and betook themselves to the plain, and remained there 4 months, the priest affecting not to eat the whole time; but still continuing in good bodily case. He extorted a bond from his deluded votaries, that they would carry him in triumph through their streets, or otherwise would forfeit the privileges of their caste and become outcastes. The matter was investigated and decided by the local officers:—only those Jungums who had a prescriptive right should pass through the streets of Bettgerry, and as this individual had no such qualification, he should no longer persist in his purpose. No attention being paid to this decision, the magistrate at Dharwar apprehended the factious priest, who was

brought in on a cot, apparently in a piteous plight, declaring that, not having eaten for 4 months, he could not walk or stand. When, however, the magistrate applied to him Sancho's remedy for the cure of lameness, an equally wonderful recovery took place; the famished Jungum arose and walked without difficulty, gave up his bond with an ill grace, amid the jeers of the multitude, and vented his bile against the Lingayets of Gaduk, by forcing them to feed a batch of his brethren in the geometrical ratio above mentioned.

A few years ago a similar dispute arose between the Huttgars and Lingayets of Moodebehal, regarding the right of procession through their respective streets. A *punchayet*, or convention of 5 arbitrators, decreed in favour of the latter, on which the Huttgars all left the town, and retired to the surrounding villages. Then, watching an opportunity when the Lingayets were off their guard, they suddenly appeared at the gate of the town about mid-day, when the people retire from work; and triumphantly parading through the bazaar, preceded by their insignia, quietly retired before the astonished Lingayets mustered to resist them. They then returned to their houses in Moodebehal. Some time after, the head man of the Huttgars died, and the funeral party was arranged to pass through the forbidden streets. The Lingayets would not consent; and after much contention the body was put down outside the gate, a great heap of stones piled over it; and there it has lain for upwards of 3 years, the Huttgars still declaring their right and determination to perform the obsequies in the usual way.

The standard bearer of the Lingayets, or Siváchárs, is the Chelwaddee, with his brazen bell and spoon; that of the Huttgars or Kooláchárs is the Singya. Both are outcastes; and the occupation of each, while bearing the ensign of his party, is to heap the most unmeasured abuse on his opponents. The Siváchárs declare that their Chelwaddee was originally a Huttgar, who, being reduced to great

distress and meeting with no sympathy from his own caste, was relieved by the Lingayets, and out of gratitude dedicated himself to their service. The Kooláchárs retort by assigning a similar origin to their Singya. Fourteen years ago there resided in Ramdroog, a Huttgar, who was detected in a serious crime. The caste complained to the late Narrayen Row Appa, the Ramdroog Chief, and demanded the punishment of the criminal. He was condemned to death. When the sentence was pronounced, he offered to compound for his life by the payment of any fine the Chief might demand—a practice common in all native states. The Huttgar was known to be so poor, that his proposal was treated with derision. So confident and earnest, however, was he in his offers, that Appa Saheb at last asked him what he would give? He replied, "Whatever you demand."—"1000 hoons?"—"Agreed."—"1500?"—"Willingly."

The Chief rose in his demands, and at last the sum was fixed at 2500 hoons, equal to Rs. 10,000. A short respite being allowed, he was sent under a guard to bring the offered securities. He repaired to the chief Lingayet's house, stated his case, and added, "You have long maintained a vain dispute about the origin of the Chelwaddee. I will now give you an opportunity of setting it at rest for ever. Pay the price of my life, and I will instantly proceed to the Chelwaddee's house, eat of the same dish with him, and, holding his insignia, head your procession in his stead."

The Lingayets caught at the offer, and immediately passed their bonds to Appa Saheb for Rs. 10,000. But the Huttgars, hearing of this, broke out in open tumult. At once, upwards of 1000 of them, augmented by the population of the neighbouring weaving hamlets, repaired to the Chief's palace, and asking whether he meant to govern with justice, demanded the cause of his subjecting them to such contumely and disgrace. Appa Saheb declared his inability to dispense with the large sum offered. They said that this should form no impediment, as they would

make good that, or even a larger sum if necessary, on his placing the renegade in their hands. Appa Saheb, seeing that he had carried the matter too far, and aware that the defection of so large a body of industrious subjects would entail serious loss to his revenue, agreed to their demand. Instantly the money was guaranteed, the wretched criminal was dragged forth by his infuriated brethren, and literally torn to pieces the moment he passed the city gate; sticks, stones, and missiles of every description being hurled upon him, so that scarce a vestige of his remains appeared.

XIII.

A DEWAN'S DEVOTION.

GOWDA, the first Sir Deşae of Nowlgowd, employed Nagojee Narayen as his Dewan, and the office continued in the family from that period (A.D. 1638) till the time of Gungappa Nagonath, who served Lingappa Deşae Hakee, and had the whole management of his estate. He lived in the latter years of the Adil Shahee dynasty, when the Kingdom of Beejapoor was tottering to its fall, and the royal authority, insecure in the distant provinces, met with constant resistance and opposition. Lingappa Deşae distinguished himself in repressing these disorders, and was in consequence given the whole administration of the Nowlgowd territories, paying a fixed revenue for all the exchequer lands. His affairs were managed by Gungappa Nagonath. In A.D. 1691, immediately after the fall of Beejapoor, a chief named Omar Khan, endeavouring to improve the disturbed state of the times to his own advantage, took post in Savanoor. The power and influence of the Deşae offered a serious obstacle to his designs, and, finding that he could not overcome him by force, he sent to propose a meeting for an amicable settlement of their differences. He secretly intended to seize or assassinate his rival. The Deşae was persuaded to come to Omar Khan's camp at Morub, and alighted outside the town, which was occupied by the Mohammedan chief. Meanwhile, however,

the Deṣae's Vakeel, suspecting some treachery, sent notice to his master, who, finding his retinue much inferior to Omar Khan's force, was alarmed, and retreated towards Nowlgowd. The Mohammedan pursued him about 21 miles and came up with him on the boundary between Morub and Firozpoor (about 6 miles from Morub). Gungappa Nagonath, with his small force, kept them at bay, to allow the Sir Deṣae to escape; but the enemy pressed hard, and continued to gain on him. At last Gungappa Nagonath, rode up to his *palkee*, and repeating the verse: "*Swami seva nutah prānū, anti tishtati mādahva*—" He who loses his life in the service of his lord, finally obtains the favour of Mādhava," proposed that, as he bore some resemblance to his master, he should take his place, and the Deṣae mounting his horse should effect his escape. The latter, after some difficulty, consented. The Vakeel then donned his master's dress, and commending his family to the Deṣae's care seated himself in the *palkee*. The Mohammedan troops soon came up; the Vakeel was killed; his head sent to Omar Khan; and the pursuit immediately relaxing, the Deṣae reached Nowlgowd in safety. When the head was brought to Omar Khan, he noted the perpendicular line or *nām* (the mark of the Vaishnuva Brahmins), and said that it looked like that of a Brahmin; and it was pronounced by those who knew the Deṣae to be the head of Gungappa Nagonath. The Deṣae bestowed on his family a free gift of twelve *mars* of land (about 360 acres) in Morub, which his great-grandson, who gave me this relation, holds to this day; but in the subsequent revolutions it has become burdened with a considerable quit-rent and the original sunnud is lost.

[W. E.]

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. III., page 446.)

XIV.

SETTLEMENT OF BOUNDARY DISPUTES BY ORDEAL.

[This note consists of official correspondence relating to a now happily obsolete method of settling a boundary dispute between two villages. The date is 1795. The first letter is from the Collector of the Guntoor district to the Collector of the neighbouring district of Masulipatam, both constituting the present Krishna (officially "Kistna") district. The second is from the same officer to his subordinate, the Assistant-Collector. The third is a translation of a petition sent to the Collector of Masulipatam.—R. S.]

I.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose you copy of the orders of the Board of Revenue under date the 10th instant, directing the treading of the boundaries in dispute between the inhabitants of Yádalanka in the Divi division of your district, and those of Vissa Issaram in the Guntoor Circar. With respect to the mode of performing this ceremony, I understand it will be proper that one or two Goomástahs (clerks) should be sent from the Collectors of each district respectively to summon the principal inhabitants of the three neighbouring villages, about two persons from each village, making—

				12 persons, also
From Yádalanka	-	-	-	2 "
„ Vissa Issaram	-	-	-	2 "
Goomastahs	-	-	-	4 "
				<hr/>
				In all 20 „ :

a proper person, who should be a Curnam (village accountant) either of Yádalanka or Vissa Issaram, to tread the boundary with the *Rámáyana*m on the head of the person being fixed upon. An inventory is to be taken, by the said Goomastahs and principal inhabitants, of his family, his

cattle, his furniture, etc. Twenty days after the performance of the ceremony a second inventory is to be taken in like manner, when, if there should appear any deficiency by death in the family, or of loss in cattle or furniture, the village of the person treading the boundary lose their cause; but in case everything is found agreeable to the inventory first taken, the village of the person treading gain their case.

I have endeavoured to state the most material circumstances of the ceremony; but if it should appear to you that anything is omitted or wrongly stated, you will be so kind as to inform me.

In addition to the Goomastah now sent from my Katchery named Venkatasawmy, I have thought proper to appoint another named Trimul Rao. You will be so kind as to inform me of the persons you send, and at what time it may suit that they should begin the business.

I have, etc.,

G. A. RAM, Collector.

II.

SIR,—You will proceed to the village of Vissa Issaram with all convenient expedition to see performed, with as little disturbance as possible, the ceremony of planting the Borja-trees, etc., in the boundaries trodden by Yarlagudda Subiah of that place. You will take as your assistant Bommacunty Senkariah, a servant in the Katchery of this place, who is a Brahmin well versed in the custom and ceremonies of the Hindus. Upon your arrival at Vissa Issaram you will send for such of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages as have signed to the award. You will likewise inquire after the Yádalankṛ man Minmany Baupanah, who marked the boundaries as trodden by Subiah and the two Goomastahs of Mr. Wrangham (Collector of Masulipatam); and in case of their absence, or refusal to attend your summons without the orders of the Collector of the fifth division, you will be pleased to write to Mr. Wrangham signifying your arrival, and your desire that these

persons may attend the ceremony, and allow a reasonable time for their arrival or for Mr. Wrangham's answer ; but their mere absence, if it appear wilful, is not to delay the ceremony, which consists in proceeding with the persons who signed the award, and the person who trod it, to plant Borja-trees or to set up *Sila Sásanams* (i.e., stones having the figure of the sun, moon and Lingam cut upon them), which latter are to be placed at the two or three closing boundaries, or such as are esteemed most important. I do not apprehend that after the positive orders of the Board Mr. Wrangham will make any objections, but, in case he should, I do not conceive any mere protest of his should stop the ceremony, unless a probability of a breach of the peace should occur, which you are by all means to avoid, even if it should occasion a delay or discontinuance of the ceremony. If it should be objected that that part of the Company's orders which require an inspection of the cattle, effects, etc., of the person treading by the Goomastahs, etc., of the Yádalanka village has not been taken by them, you will observe that this has been wilfully their own fault, as they had due notice given them to attend by my Goomastahs, as well as Mr. Wrangham by me, in several letters of 12 and 29 June.

I enclose for your further information various papers on the subject, as per list of the packet.

I am, sir, etc.,

G. A. RAM, Collector.

III.

[Native official translation of a representation from some inhabitants of the village in the Masulipatam district to their own Collector, dated the 4th June, 1796.]

With respect to the disputed ground between Yádalanka and Vissa Issaram, one of the inhabitants of the latter, named Yarlagudda Subiah, was nominated to tread the boundary on June 1st ; that they having started some objections, we addressed our representations to you upon the subject, which we hope you have received. What has since occurred in

this place we take the liberty to set forth, *viz.*, that the inhabitants of Vissa Issaram, in conjunction with Mr. Ram's Goomastah, have this day assembled 200 armed men from Manikakowvar Zamindar of Vissa Issaram village, 50 from the Thanadar of the Kyatapilly village appertaining to Woodiagherry Circar, and 100 people from the village, with some Sepoys, amounting in all to about 400 men ; and had a conjuring Brahmin brought from a village called Varahalapuram, who instantly put a ring on Subiah's hand. The whole of the above force immediately surrounded the above Subiah, and went over the ground without suffering him to walk softly within the limits, as has been always customary. We also observe that it is customary that the nine different sorts of grain, tied in the cloth of the person who treads, should be opened by a Curnam of the opposite party ; but the inhabitants of Vissa Issaram, instead of complying with this rule brought another Brahmin and had the grain (tied in the cloth of the said Subiah at the time of treading the boundary) opened by him. Thus they set at naught all custom or former usage of performing the ceremony.

Mr. Ram's Goomastah, instead of stopping such irregular conduct in the Vissa Issaram people, has combined with them, representing the matter in a far different light to his master ; and we, therefore, address this for your information. The six persons assembled from the neighbouring villages, as witnesses on the part of the Yádalanka people, did not approve of the manner in which the ground was trod by the Vissa Issaram people. We further beg leave to observe that after the ceremony of treading had been performed, as already mentioned, the people of Yádalanka, etc., should have been allowed to place confidential people to watch the house of Subiah (who had trod the boundary) for twenty-one days, to find out his losses, if he sustained any within that period.

We hope, therefore, you will be pleased to write to Mr. Ram that the inhabitants of Yádalanka may at least be suffered to keep their people for this purpose.

[To this Sir Walter Elliot adds the following personal note.]

“ My brother Charles informs me that when he was Commissioner of Raepur, in the Nagpore State he had to settle some boundary disputes between Gond villages, in which the Gond selected to walk the limits seized a live fowl by the neck with his teeth and kept tearing it along the line in dispute, the poor bird screaming, fluttering, scratching and pecking. Whatever object he touched was considered a boundary mark ; and if within fifteen days no death or other disaster occurred in the man's family the award was confirmed.”

XV.

A HUMAN SACRIFICE.

IN the first criminal session for the Zillah of Cuddapah, held by D. Davis, Esq., third Judge of Circuit, Centre Division, from 7th to 28th February, 1839, a curious trial (No. 22) is recorded, in which Bharatam Venkata Rámiah was the prosecutor, and Wonkah Subiah the accused.

It appears that on the 14th of July, 1838, the prosecutor's niece, a Braminee girl named Venkata Subamah, aged 8 years, went with two girls, Venkata Lutchmee and Subamah, her relations, to play in the village of Chintacoontah, in Dovoort Taluk, Cuddapah Zillah, where all the parties resided.

She did not return home that evening with the other two ; but this excited no surprise, as she was in the habit of sleeping occasionally with her mother-in-law, who lived in a neighbouring house. But as she did not come home the next morning, and had not been at her mother-in-law's, apprehensions were entertained and search made. Meantime Numbu Muddulaty, Pujaree [priest] of the Añjanaya Swami [Hanuman] Pagoda, gave information that the dead body of a girl was lying behind the idol in the temple. The prosecutor, village officers, and others immediately repaired thither, and found the corpse to be that of Venkata Subamah.

It bore all over marks of violence. Death appeared to

have been caused by strangulation or twisting the neck. The eyeballs were torn out from the sockets with a nail or some sharp instrument; two of the upper and two of the lower teeth had been wrenched out; and all the joints seemed to have been pierced and wounded with an iron style [*Guntam*] or a nail. Blood had been drawn from the ends of the fingers, and the body in several places had been bruised with stones. When discovered, a stone was found lying upon it. The body had been rubbed with saffron or turmeric [*Huldee*]; marks of red powder [*Koonkam*] were visible on the forehead, and also of blood; and on the neck and hands were other marks of rice and turmeric mixed [*Atchintaloo*], and sandal.

The other girls declared that on the previous evening the deceased took them to the house of Wonkah Subiah, son of Rámabhattach, a Brahmin also of the Siva sect, to see a snake which they heard was there. They found Subiah and a Mussulman of dark complexion pitted with the small-pox. Subiah induced the deceased to enter the house by offering her a piece of cocoanut and some Jaggery, and drove away the others, saying in Hindustani, *Jao! Jao!* [Go!]

The prisoner, Wonkah Subiah, called also Venkata Nursoo, was not in the village when the murder was discovered, but was apprehended returning about 3 o'clock p.m. He had on a pair of trousers belonging to one Ramasawmy, and a *Puncha* cloth recently washed, the latter stained with blood, which he attributed to betel-nut spittle.

On searching his house there were found two books on magic, containing *Mantrams* [spells], a board on which several *Mantrams* were written, an iron nail stained with blood, and some rice, of which it is remarkable the deceased had had a quantity tied up in the corner of her *Sári*-cloth. The *Puncha*-cloth, books, board, and nail were admitted by the prisoner to be his property.

The two magical books produced by the prisoner's friend, Lutchmee Nursoo, were said by the prisoner to have been written by one Poolunagarry Ramanah, who, however,

denied all knowledge of them. Muddulaty, the Pujaree, admitted that he copied "the new book" for Poolunagarry Ramasawmy, and gave it to Lutchmee Nursoo to deliver to Ramasawmy.

The prosecutor stated at the trial that he believed the deceased to have been murdered for purposes of *Pooja* [sacrifice to a deity]; that the books before the court stated that a man by pronouncing certain *Mantrums* and sacrificing an unmarried girl to Devi, could make the goddess appear before him and obtain from her wealth and the power of killing whomsoever he wished. It was stated further that prisoner's family, his father and others were well versed in incantations, etc., though they had not been known to resort to such illegal acts; and that the prisoner when quarrelling with others would frighten them by threatening to use *Mantrums*.

From the marks of sandal, turmeric, etc., on the body, there was no doubt it had been used for a sacrifice; but as there was no evidence that the deed had been done by the prisoner, he was acquitted.

XVI.

MANTRAMS AND SORCERY.

[The following is a note by the celebrated Telegu scholar, Mr. C. P. Brown, on two books of magic, with translations of the original spells. I have no means of knowing certainly, but it may have been the very books alluded to in the last note as having been found in the possession of the supposed murderer.—R. S.]

No. 1.

THE small Sanscrit book of magical charms is a fragment of the *Sabara chintamani*, imperfect in several places. I have ascertained the sense by the aid of a complete copy in my collection. The fragment begins about the middle of Chapter IX. In this translation several words are explained according to the mystic sense, different from the literal meaning.

"Let the querist stand on the north side, and the magician on the south. Let the road be on the east. Such is

the rule in Kérala (the Malayalam country). Let him cry : ‘*Ôm ! ham ! hram ! śram !*’ I salute Bhagavatī, goddess of Malayāla, who in a trice possesses [men with demons]. Come ! O come !’ Let him, on a Sunday night, provide the corpse of a virgin, and place it at the root of a tree as if in a seat. Then let him recite 100 times the appointed spell, and this shall make the devil fill the corpse. Then give him a piece of flesh and some wine, with any other food he desires : by this the demon will be compelled to bring to thee any woman thou desirest. This magic rite is denominated [*Kanya vīra*] the virgin-demon. This is the Kerala [*i.e.*, the Malayalam spell for obtaining a woman].

“I will now declare the Karnátaka mode of acquisition, O my faithful spouse !* This is powerful in raising ghosts. Place some white earth in a temple sacred to *Garuda* ; and after 40 days, on a Sunday, take up that earth with your left hand. Then recite 10,000 times the spell in a cemetery with your face turned south. And now, O Queen, will I repeat the spell as taught me, for no spell can be of effect unless imparted by a teacher.

“[*The Spell* :] ‘*Ôm !* hail, O *Bhagavati*, who dwellest in the cemetery ! who art adored by all ghosts ! Come ! come ! O handmaid of *Siva*, thou who didst devour the demon *Mahisha*, approach ! approach ! *Ahram ! Śram ! hraum ! hrīm ! Svaha !*’ [*These meaningless magical monosyllables are perpetually used in treatises on magic.*] Let the cunning man use this spell on a Sunday night in a cemetery. On finishing it, a great demon will appear visibly ; his name is Mahisha : Vanquisher of Kingdoms ! This demon will exhibit a marvellous power of acquisition, such as will sanctify the earth.” [*Thus far is in Sanscrit ; the next passage is in the Telegu language.*]

“Take the white earth in your hand ; mix it with lamp-black ; and begin your prayer on Sunday night, continuing

* Treatises on magic are generally framed as conversations between *Siva* and *Pārvatī* ; hence vocations like this frequently occur, but have no connection with the spells.

it three nights until Tuesday night. The third night a goddess [or fairy] named *Maisamma* will come and ask you what you desire. The aspirant must reply, 'I wish thee to be ready whenever I call.'

"Then let him get a shroud and tear strips from it, which are to be smeared with the white ashes and made into wicks. Let them be oiled and lighted. Then *Maisamma* will appear to him, and will bring to him anyone whom he desires, and afterwards will carry them away.

"Further,—The '*Andhrá Cháram*, a most marvellous spell; supreme; framed by 'Adi-nátha, and hidden in the [*Agamás*] rituals. Let the magician, on a Sunday night, repair to a cemetery where are interred heroes slain in battle. Let him take a nail a span long, and a cord of twenty cubits. Let him drive in the nail and roll the cord round it. Then let him sit under a tree and repeat 1,000 times the following spell, having wine and flesh at hand. This shall raise the ghost of a hero.

"[*The spell*.:] 'Om! Hail, O great hero! approach! approach! accept the sacrifice! accomplish the deed! accomplish it! Hum! Phat!' This spell will force the hero to appear. Then satisfy him with wine and flesh. He will be potent to serve thee. Let also a lamp be prepared according to the rule already given; and sitting facing the south, repeat the spells 1,000 times. This shall cause him to harry thine enemy most marvellously.

"CHAPTER X.

"'Explain to me,' said *Párvati*, 'the wondrous and terrific spell that causes death.'

"[*Siva* replies:] 'I will explain to thee the potent spell that causes death, called *Gaula*. On a dark night, as ordained in the land of *Gaula*, let the following spell be used to cause death. To cause death without its aid is as impossible as for the sands to fill up the sea.

"[*The spell*.:] 'Ôm! Nama! *Bhagavatí! Kála Rátri!* thou, O goddess, who delightest in human blood and

flesh—thou who art black as the King of Hell!—accept and devour this man as a sheep! Render him lifeless! *Hum! Hum! Svaha!*

“Let this spell be reiterated 10,000 times in a cemetery. The goddess Káli shall appear to him at night. Then let him offer a piece of flesh as a sacrifice. From that moment shall his foe be like a dead man before him. Let him also perform. . . . [*Here follow a few words quite unintelligible.*] This shall plunge his enemy into hell. This is the *Káli* spell to be recited in a cemetery from the 12th till the 14th day of the lunar fortnight. Then shall Kali appear visibly before him, and he must offer the oblation to her, and she shall grant him his desires. Then let him desire her to come whenever he may call on her. Let him use the magic powder and the lamp, as already directed, whenever he requires her presence, and she shall act as he desires. Let him insert his enemy's name in the spell, and recite it for 15 days. This will kill him.

“Let him make a powder of human bones, while he recites the spell over it; then recite it 1,000 times more, mingling the bone-powder with his foe's meat and drink; and in a week his enemy shall go to hell [the house of *Yama*].

“Now as to the Kérala [Malayálam] mortal spell invented by 'Anádi Nátha.

“I will describe, O virtuous one! [*Parvati*, so styled merely to fill the metre] the spell that forthwith obtains victory: ‘*Ôm! hram! bram! glûm! glaum!* O hog-faced goddess! [*Circe*] seize this beast! accept this victim! Drink, drink [his] blood! eat, eat his flesh! Thou who art the image of Death! O *Bhagavatt* of Malayála, *hum! glaum! phat!*

“This is the spell. Recite it before the great mother 10,000 times, and this shall gain victory to the daring magician, who must be naked, in a deserted house; let this be repeated 10,000 times, and it will slay your foe in a fortnight.

"Get a bone of a *pariah*; perform the same incantations. Then on a Tuesday the magician must conceal it in his enemy's house. This shall make him perish childless. [*N.B.—This passage, unintelligible in this MS., is given from my own manuscript, where the meaning is clear.*]

"Make a waxen image of your foe; and at night take it in your right hand, with a rosary of wooden beads. Recite the spell 10,000 times; burn the image with some wood remaining from a funeral-pile. By reciting the spell your enemy will perish in a fortnight, and go to hell.

"Recite it 10,000 times while you face the mother [*Kālī*], and she will promise to attend you whenever you call her. On reciting it 1,000 times she will appear, and accomplish all you wish. Recite it 1,000 times in a cemetery, and it will kill him in a week. Consecrate a human bone with it, and by hiding this in his house you will kill him in a fortnight. Make a waxen image of your foe; touch it with your right hand, while you repeat the spell 1,000 times. Then burn it with sticks from a funeral-pile. This shall kill him in a fortnight.

"Now I will explain the Karnátaca spell invented by 'Adi-Nátha. This spell, O goddess, shall obtain all we desire if we recite it in a cemetery [*lit.*, in a ghost-thicket] with the following words:

"*Ôm ! hum ! glaum ! Dhakinê !* [a name of a certain fairy or sprite] who delightest in human blood and flesh, who eatest the wine-cake; thou who destroyest men without number, who devourest living creatures, O devour him! devour him! Drink, drink [his] blood! eat, eat [his] flesh. *Hē ! Hē ! Hē !* [mere exclamations] *Hum ! phat !*

"Let this spell be performed in a haunted grove. The magician is to stand naked, facing the south. Let him begin at the wane of the moon, and continue the rite through that fortnight. Recite the spell 10,000 times in the Kali-durga mode. [Kali Durga is the celebrated goddess of Thugs.]

"This Dakint [*Hecate*] shall come to thee, attended by

a host of sprites, and will say, 'What desirest thou?' Reply, 'The death of a foe.' She will answer, 'I will willingly do it at once, with immediate destruction.'

"Let the sorcerer then recite the syllables of his foe's name, mingled with the spell. Thus [here recite the above spell], O devour *so and so*, eat the flesh of *so and so*, etc. This process will, without a doubt, lead to his death.

"Next will I explain the 'Andhra spell :

"*Ôm, hrîm, glaum, Bhairava!* goddess, destroyer of destruction! thou who art adored by hosts of god-like giants! who delightest in human blood and flesh! approach! approach! Come! come! *Hum! Phat! Svaha!* This spell is to be performed in the presence of *Bhairava* [an epithet of a god]; let it be recited 10,000 times, and it will be successful if used after you have used his name. Then shall he perish, though strong as an elephant.

"Whenever you have occasion for it, recite it 10,000 times, and your foe will die in a fortnight.

"Next is the Gujerâti spell, composed by 'Adi-Nâtha. It is most potent; let it be ever kept secret.

"[*The spell:*] '*Ôm! glaum! glaum!* mighty *Maya* [Venus and Delusion], awful in power, awful in might, awful in form, approach! approach! *Khê! Khê!* [More probably it should be *Khadaya, Khadaya*, which are the proper phrases in a spell—viz., "Devour! devour him!"] Slay! slay my foe! Drink! drink his blood! *Glau! glau! svaha!*

"This spell must be recited to obtain the presence of the goddess *Chandika*, and the power shall appear in visible form. You must sacrifice a cock, and flesh and blood. Perform this in a cemetery, and be resolute. As is above directed, this rite is to be performed whenever requisite, and the goddess will enter the cemetery.

"*Ôm!* Hail, O [*Bhagavati*] *Kali!* painted with yellow! devourer! black with fire! yellow-tongued! terrible! *Rohini! Hum! Phat! Bhur! Bhuvast! Svaha!* Devour the flesh and blood of my enemy! Cut my foe! cut him to pieces! *Mêdi! Bhâvi! Bhâva! Hum! Phat!*

“Repeat the above spell 128 times, sitting on the house-top, and then drop a stone down. This shall destroy your foe.” [*Here the manuscript ends.*]

No. 2.

[Translation of a small book on nine palm leaves, written partly in Sanscrit and partly in Telegu.]

“Salutation to the goddess *Kali* !

“‘O thou who governest all nature by spells! who rulest by means of the system of magic! who rulest the gods and all demons! who rulest all destruction! universal! vast! supreme! great possessor! be gracious to this work! thou who at once ledest captive Great Devadatta! goddess of gods! ruler! greatest of sprites! who rulest the genii of Maya! who rulest all knowledge! great *Káli*, *Ôm*! *hum*! great goddess of fever, O *Durga*! great *Káli*! *Káli*! *Káli*! O *Kali-Jhum*! *Káli-śram*! *śa*! *śum*! *Karali*! *Marali*! smite him! smite him!’

[*Here are Telegu words intermixed as directions to the wizard, but are broken and scarcely intelligible*] “. . . applying your mouth duly [say], ‘Smite him! May thy mouth be filled with his blood! *Kakka*! *kakka*! *pikku*! *pheli*! *pheli*! *bhali*! *bhali*! *adé Karaum*!’

“‘*Dhum Kuratt*! may his eyes turn spinning in his head! may his bowels be twisted! may his heart be broken with terror! may his legs and joints rattle and totter! Break him and mangle him! make him as a broken potsherd! and may he explode like rotten grain! may he burst! In the fury of thy bursting rage let his bloodshot eyes start out of his head! *Thá*! *thá*! *thá*! Look on him with fiery eyes till he burst! *Bhagavat*! great *Maya*! who quelledst Karta Virya . . .’ [*Here follow 22 unintelligible sounds.*] Let the above spell be recited 1,000 times, with the following rite :

“Select a burning-place [or cemetery] on the east of the town. Go there one Sunday night. Walk round the cemetery seven times. Stand at the north-east angle.

Then enter the cemetery. Turn westwards. Walk seven steps backwards. Strip naked. Fill your left hand with ashes, and tie these in a yellow cloth with frankincense, and roll them up in cotton, which you must not carry home but put in a chapel of any *Sakti* goddess. When you have occasion, you must erect a magic square, with these ashes on the ground; draw a figure of the goddess, and put a bit of the *Tulasi* tree in the mouth. Recite the spell 27 times, sprinkling water. Then bring water from the well, and put the ashes in it. Then recite the spell 27 times, and drink the water. If you drink it all, he will die in a moment. If you drink half, and leave half, he will endure great torments. If you again shed the water, he will return to his former state.

“The above spell is called the *Atkar Kali Mantram* of miscreants.

“Get a bottle of toddy, a bottle of wine, and raw flesh, and then utter the following spell :

“‘Salutation to *Bhagavati ! Mátangi Sakti* [cannibal pariah goddess] of Malayâla ! thou who feedest on flesh and blood ! thou who speedily effectest the spell ! thou who canst destroy his five senses ! *Malayala ! Kûdu ! Kandhi ! Mar ! Mar ! Malayâla Sakti ! Râm ! Râm ! Kham ! Kham ! Gham ! Gham ! Ôm ! Ôm ! hram ! hrtm ! hraum ! phat ! svaha !*’

“Get ashes from a potter’s kiln, and also from a washerman’s furnace, and ashes from a cemetery ; place these on the ground, and therewith draw a pentagon. Thereupon place an image. Bring red rice, a red fowl, and red sandalwood ; red-coloured grain and red flowers. Then cut the fowl’s throat. Let the blood flow into a cup ; dip two arrows into the blood, and exclaim, ‘Mother ! strike ! pierce him !’ Repeat the spell nine times over each arrow, and devote one to strike him in the eye, the other striking his mouth. Then bury them on the north side.

“Rules regarding the Milk spell :

“‘*Ôm ! hrtm !* Destroy, goddess ! long-tongued ! who ridest on the Ram ! *Ôm ! Phat ! Svaha !*’

“Process : On a Sunday get the milk of a black goat, and sprinkle it 27 times behind his house. His hands and feet shall be dried up, and a slow fever shall seize him.

“[*The spell.*] ‘*Ôm ! hrîm ! grûm ! trîm !* Thou who destroyest all ! Blest *Kâli*, armed with the lance and drum, who joyest in red-sandal ! long-tongued ! ghost-visaged ! goddess of speech ! O devour my foe ! devour ! devour him ! *Hum ! phat ! svaha !*’

“Another process : Get some ashes from a funeral-pile, and, repeating your enemy’s name, scatter the ashes over his house. This shall produce death. [*Here follows a reiteration of the first page of this manuscript.*]

“‘*Ôm !* hail *Bhagavatt !* pariah-goddess ! who devourest flesh and blood ! O red one ! eat ! devour him, dreadful goddess ! slay him, O great goddess ! supreme’ [*Here follow more unintelligible syllables.*]

“Get some grain of different sorts, with flour and rice. Put an equal quantity of salt, and grind them in a paste with water from a stream. Go to a pit on the north of the village, and spread some *Jille* leaves. Set up a doll ; offer frankincense and lamps. Offer a cock as a sacrifice ; cover it with the leaves, and bury it. This shall obtain thee success.

“Recite the above spell 24 times.

“Salutation to *Bramha*, son of *Siva* [*i.e., Hanuman*]. Thou on whom *Indra* rides ! [*Here Hindustani and Arabic words are intermixed.*] Great Monkey God ! *Sunjeeva Raya* ! Seize and slay him !

“I adjure thee by the sacred feet of thy mother, O *Hanuman* ! if thou swerve from this adjuration. I adjure thee by thy feet, great leader ! [*More unintelligible syllables.*] This spell shall bind the earth, however extensive.

“I adore my great teacher *Rama Guru Sanyâsi*.”

XVII.

RURAL SUPERSTITIOUS BELIEF.

THE following Petition from a villager of Konas, in the Bándá Division, dated 13th November, 1847, was actually presented to the political agent in Sawantwarree, a district under the Bombay Government.—

“My petition is this. Sewa Sati Gawas, Láro Lom Sáwant, and Káno Thill Sáwant brought Rám Gámkar of Humkari unto my village, and caused him to take away from the Máwáti temple the *Mayechá Purwas* (an idol) and bury it. In consequence of this, the labour of the Ryots is cursed and produces no fruits. Their cattle also die. It has caused two deaths ; one in my own family. Thus does evil of all kinds fall upon us ; and the officials are perplexed how to settle the Government demands. The three above-named parties, moreover, introduced demons from another village, and stopped the village *Devapan* ,* whereby the village has become unproductive and myself ruined. One or other of my family is daily suffering from sickness ; and I myself have been ill for the last 2 or 3 months, besides others in the village. I have lost forty head of cattle. If such calamity continue, the Ryots will cease to cultivate their fields, and the village will be deserted. I pray, therefore, that the Defendants may be summoned and directed to replace the idol in the temple, and take back the demons to their former abode ; and, further, that the village *Devapan* be re-established, and the parties complained of be required to give good security for abstaining in future from such evil deeds.”

Marked with a plough for

PHATÉ NÁRE GAWAS.

[W. E.]

* A religious ceremony, generally including prophecy and teaching by the performer, under the inspiration of a deity.

XVIII.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE "SALIGRÁMA."

BY A NATIVE.

[The Saligráma is a small, smooth, spherical black stone, curiously marked with one or more circular hollows, as if made by some burrowing insect. At the side of the hollow is a small knob, like a fossil shell or whorl, called the *chakra* of Vishnu. Every worshipper of Vishnu keeps one as an object of daily adoration. Saligrámas vary in price. A common one costs from 3 to 5 Rs. One that has come down for generations in a well-to-do family, or that has belonged to a man of renowned sanctity may fetch as much as from 150 to 200 Rs.—R. S.]

ON the north side of the River Gandaky, near Oudh, there is a mountain called the "Saligráma Purvatum," extending to 12 Yojanas, (or 120 miles) in length, and held sacred as partaking of the omnipresence of the god *Hurri* or Vishnu. On its lower part, there abounds a species of sacred stones of which "Saligrámas" are formed. These are carried down into the Gandaky river by the *Chakra-naddi*, a stream running from the mountain. Certain gold-coloured insects, borne on that river and called "*Vujjrakutum*," attach themselves to the stones, and in the course of several years bore the holes and *chukrams* or circular marks seen on them.

The stones are of 2 kinds :—" *Jalajum* " or born in water, and " *Sthalajum* " or born on dry land ; the former are smooth and handsome, the latter rough and uneven. Each insect engraves two "Chukrams," up and down, in a hole. The stones often have more than one hole, some as many as 7 or 8. The engraving is sometimes made on the outside of the stone. Stones without the "Chukram" are useless. The "Chukrams" wrought in various forms are the distinguishing marks for recognizing the "Saligrámas,"

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and naming them after the different incarnations of Vishnu :—as, *Vansudeva*, *Narraina*, *Gopala*, *Matcheya*, *Kurma*, etc.

“*Saligrámas*” vary also in colour; as white, black, yellow, red, blue, etc., which are said to confer different blessings on the possessor, both in this and the other world. The white ensures salvation; the blue bestows wealth and health; the black confers popularity; the red gives power; and so on. The most esteemed and venerated are those which are neither too large nor too small in size, and are round, smooth, deep-holed and engraved inwardly. Such as are wide-holed, crooked either in form or engraving, broken, cracked, or not bright, are considered of less virtue, except for “*Recluses*,” who may keep and adore all kinds of “*Saligrámas*” indiscriminately.

We are told that the way to distinguish a good from a bad “*Saligráma*,” is to put it into a measured quantity of cow’s milk or rice, for a day; and to mark whether the quantity increases or diminishes. If it increases, or at least does not diminish, the “*Saligráma*” is to be considered lucky and acceptable; if it diminishes, it is not suitable. These “*Saligrámas*” are adored as the domestic gods of all classes of Brahmins in India. They wash them and pray to them every day, offer them, in the first instance, the victuals prepared for their own use, and drink the water in which they are washed as conducive to every blessing and happiness. They cannot become polluted, nor do they require any ceremonial purification as idols do.

X I X.

SATI.

[The Form and ceremony of performing the *Sagamánam* or *Sahagamánam* (departing of a woman with her husband) commonly called *Sati*, translated by C. V. Ramaswamy, Brahmin; Madras, 1846.]

When a man of the Brahmin caste dies, the wife rubs turmeric powder over her body and places on her forehead the *Kumkam* or spot made with a red powder. She chews betelnut, and holding a lime in her hand, she makes the

usual declaration of wishing to ascend the funeral pile. She then dresses herself in a yellow cloth, and adorns her head with flowers, sandal and other perfumes. With a smiling countenance she distributes her jewelry among her children and relatives, giving a part also in charity to Brahmins. Then praying to God, she accompanies her relations in procession to the Burning ground (*Smasanam Bhumi*) where (on a pile of fuel) the corpse of her deceased husband is laid. Taking leave of all the people about the place, as the Rajah of the country, the principal personages and other spectators, she recites prayers for the safety of the Rajah and country. She then walks thrice round the funeral pile, mounts it and reclines close to the body of her departed husband. The people then place large faggots and bundles of wood on the pile, and pour on it many pots of oil, resin, etc., to quicken the fire. Sometimes the woman in proof of her courage and fidelity to the deceased, exhibits to the spectators her glass bracelets, the lime she holds in her hand, the part of the cloth folded in front, the marriage *Tali* (nuptial golden ornament), or some other object. If this is found afterwards unconsumed by the fierce flames, it is believed by all to be a proof of her fidelity to her husband. In the case of even those who have not thus antecedently appealed to the spectators for this proof of their virtue, any portion of their bracelets, clothes, marriage *Tali*, etc., which may remain unburnt, are separated by the people, the next day, from the ashes, are put in a clean place, and are worshipped with sandal. On holidays they offer them milk, fruit, etc., in the place where the *Sagamanam* was performed. They used formerly to make two stone images of the departed couple* and erect small temples to them. The images were rubbed with turmeric powder, and adorned with glass beads and rings. On the following Friday boiled milk, rice and fruit were offered to them. Travellers and villagers used to make

* These old stone images are to be seen all over Southern India, on roadsides, in villages, and in the fields.—R. S.

vows to repair these temples, with the object of recovering from illness, obtaining offspring, etc. If they obtained their desires, they moreover offered milk, rice, and cloth, according to their means. They held that these new deities would appear to them in dreams, favour them with their commands and grant them their wishes. Some persons vowed to consider them as their household or family deities (*Pérantálu*); and others promised to give their names to their expected children, and believed that they would remove unhappiness, sickness and all misfortunes from the family. The deities thus recognised were expected to warn the master of the house of all future ills in the family, and how to avert them. Thus they were held to fulfil the wishes of the heads of families, for some years; but in time their power was believed to cease, though the departed couple were still expected to protect their own family during the lifetime of its members. Sometimes it happened that they did not help them at all. If the cloth, glass rings, and limes of the woman were all burnt to ashes, no virtue or power was ascribed to the couple, except for people of their own clan; and therefore no others would respect or worship them, or vow to perform any ceremonies, because they had not the power to fulfil their wishes.

This custom of the *Sahagamánam* is directed in the Puránás to be observed by all sects or castes. Pregnant women, however, of all castes are not permitted to burn themselves with their husbands' corpses, because they are then considered to enclose *double souls*. Any female who is made to die thus by force or compulsion will certainly have to wander about as a *Bhuta* (ghost) for a long time before she attains *Moksham* (salvation).

There are slight variations in the rules for the Kshatriya (warrior-caste) woman, who performs the *Sahagamánam* for her husband.

When a *Kshatriya* man dies, his wife at once bathes, anoints her head with oil, rubs her person with sandal and other perfumes, adorns herself with flowers, dresses herself

in a long saffron-coloured cloth, and takes a lime in one hand and a mirror in the other. Accompanied with music, she goes with her husband's corpse to the burning ground, engaged in prayer to God. Into a pit previously dug is thrown a quantity of sandal wood with roots of some jungle trees, and around it a screen of mats is raised. The woman now takes off her jewels and distributes them among Brahmins and women ; looks up, and prays to the Sun for the prosperity of the country and of the Rajah. Then, breaking one side of the screen, she jumps into the flaming fire. The people then throw the surrounding matting into the fire, and pour on it pots of ghee, resin, camphor, and other fragrant things, until both the bodies are consumed. Some women at the moment of going into the flames, take up some of the fire in their hands. Others quietly lay themselves down alongside the corpses of their husbands. Some die before they can lie down thus, but others have answered, twice or even thrice, the call of the spectators. After both bodies have been entirely burnt, the sons or relations of the departed collect the glass rings, beads, cloth or other articles which the flames have respected, and preserve them in a pure place in their houses as relics, believing that thereby their desires will be accomplished.

The same rules are ordained for the *Vaisyas* and *Balijas* ; but in the caste of the *Vacariwa* the wife enters the pile with her husband's corpse. The *Reddis*, *Velamás*, *Cummás*, *Maharathas*, *Rajputs*, and *Bondelies* act as the *Vacari* caste ; the *Arava Velamas*, the *Kollars* and some others observe the forms of the *Kshatriyas* or the *Brahmins*.

If the husband has died in a distant country, the widow on receiving the news of his death, rubs herself with turmeric, adorns herself with flowers, wears a yellow cloth, and does her hair in 5 or 10 plaits, to which she hangs limes. With the drawn sword of her husband in one hand, and in the other a mirror into which she looks, she proceeds, attended with music, to the adjacent villages in which she has relations residing. These are bound to pay for the musicians and

to supply her with all she needs or reasonably demands. She thus visits the neighbouring villages for 10 days, spending her time in pleasure, (witnessing) dances and music, etc. She does not sleep, but continues night and day in a state of exhilaration and excitement. As a rule, she takes no food. Some women however eat a little rice ; others are prevailed upon, by the earnest request of their relations, to take a little milk.

On the eleventh day, a funeral pile is prepared in the name of her husband ; and when it is lighted, she enters into the fire according to the abovementioned rules. Her unburnt ornaments are gathered and kept by her relations, who worship them, as is said above, and believe that thereby some of their wishes may be accomplished, should fate be propitious.

According to the *Purānas*, women departing thus with their husbands live in heaven for 3 *krores* of divine years, and enjoy every felicity and happiness in *Déva-Lokam*.

Various motives may induce women to perform *Sahagamānam* ; as 1st, affection and love to her deceased husband ; 2nd, because she has no children to live for ; 3rd, fear of want of food and straitened circumstances ; 4th, resentment and anger against their relations ; etc. The Brahmins call this ceremony *Sahagamānam* (going with the husband) ; the Kshatriyas call it *Agni Pravesam* (entering the fire). The custom is common over all India.

A letter from Captain Robert Gill, dated Mahum, near Julna, May 1st, 1848, says : “. . . I have not forgotten your wish about monuments erected over Sutties. At Bajain I found 9—all erected by the side of a beautiful tank, but totally different from those you described. They were simple square *tumuli*, twice as high as broad, surrounded by a cornice. The upper half was hollow and arched on every side, and contained within sculptures of the two feet and a *lingam*. My informant, moreover, told me that other images were placed in the interior of the house of the deceased woman's nearest relations, and wor-

shipped daily. One of the Suttees took place so late as within the last 3 years ; and the monument erected on that occasion was quite new.

“At Karinjah I was too unwell to go out, but made enquiries and learned that a Suttee had taken place there within the last year (1847), and that the monument was similar to those just described. I have not yet found any of the description of sculptures which you wish for, though I never fail to stroll round almost every village I pass, in hopes of doing so.”

XX.

LEGEND OF THE KOLAIR LAKE.

(TRANSLATED FROM THE *Márkandeya-puranam*, BY A
BRAHMIN.)

[The Kolair (or Colair) Lake forms the drainage area of the richly irrigated rice-growing tract between the Godáveri and Krishna Rivers, on the East Coast. It is about on mean sea level, and runs into, or is filled by, the sea, according to the tides. It is mostly overgrown with tall reeds, and is the abode of millions of aquatic birds of every description.—R. S.]

IN former times, at an examination of the learning and acquirements of the Pándavás and Konravás, Duryódhana was rejoiced to see that Karna displayed skill superior to that of Arjuna ; and being pleased to find one who could overcome that hero, he appointed Karna Sovereign of *Anga-désam*, the country lying between the Krishna and the Godáveri, northward, up to the River Nirmala. Karna took possession of his dominions, and founded a large town, 3 yojanas (30 miles) in length and as many in breadth ; and called it Karnapuram, after his own name. He also consecrated a pagoda to *Gokarnéswara*. During his prosperous reign he attracted Brahmins in great numbers to the town, by granting *Agrahárams* (Brahmin hamlets) for their support. On his fall, in the battle between the Pándavás and Konravás, Dharmaraja succeeded to the throne ; and after him came a long line of kings of the Soma Vamsa (family of the Moon). During the Yudhisthir

epoch of the *Kaliyuga*, Mahanandi of the Magadha family, being the most powerful chief of the age, ruled to the utmost limits of the earth. He took four wives from the Kshatriya caste, and one, of remarkable beauty, from the Sudras. He had sons by all. By the four Kshatriya wives he had Pumsapatadu, Vakshyapudu, Karadandu and Mandapáludu. By the Sudra wife he had Mahapadmudu; and being particularly fond of this last son, he made him supreme king over all his dominions, bestowing only 4 minor districts on his other sons. He then retired from the world, for contemplation and prayer. While Pump-sapatadu, Vakshyapudu, Karadandu and Mandapáludu reigned respectively in their kingdoms of Kalinga, Pulinda, Anga and Vanga, Mahapadmudu, their stepbrother, undertook a great warlike expedition, and received homage from all Kshatriyas, whom he subdued and reduced them to the same level as the Sudras, forcing them to live by cultivating the earth. He subjected the whole world to his sway.

Karadandu, King of Anga, whose capital was Karnapuram, reigned with benevolence; but the 8th descendant from him, having no issue, entrusted the management of his kingdom to his *Mantri* (minister); and accompanied by his wife, retired to the river Nirmala, to offer up prayers for a son. In a few years, a spirit of wickedness and disregard for his master entered the *Mantri's* head. He made himself absolute king, and even altered the name of the metropolis from Karnapuram to Kolairpuram, and proclaimed the change everywhere. He also wickedly deprived the Brahmins of their *Agrahárams* and *Mányams* (rent free lands) granted by former Rajahs; and thus reduced them to great distress for want of even food and raiment.

It happened that a *Yogi* came to the town, and stopping before a wretched, half-ruined house, he questioned its mistress, who told him the whole history of the local poverty. Moved with compassion, he communicated to her a *mantram* (spell), called *Múltraconti*; and explaining its process to her, with many other things, he went his way.

This *mantram* gave riches to all—Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. It consisted in the woman's washing white rice in a particular manner, and giving it to her husband at the morning *Onposanam*; and when the *hómam* is made with them the grains are said to be converted into so many grains of gold. A first trial having been found successful, the Brahmin joyfully directed his wife to continue the practice daily. In time, however, the woman communicated the secret to many other women; and for 18 years the town enjoyed unparalleled prosperity and wealth:—houses and *Mahals* were even erected with gold.

But *Agnihotra* could not endure the sight of the wickedness involved in the preparation of the spell. There then resided near Mahadevi's pagoda a very good Brahmin called Nilakuntha, whose wife Sumati was a woman of great virtue. She one day said to him: "My Lord, the whole town is become rich by means of a *mantram*; will you permit me also to use it?" The Brahmin thereupon rebuked her, and would not consent to the wicked practice. Jataveda condescended to visit this Brahmin's house, and said that he, the God of Fire, intended to consume the town; but he blessed the Brahmin and his wife, so that, through his mercy, they would remain safe under their own roof, and would have all necessities that they wished for. He then disappeared. Before long, however, *Agnihotra* began his work of destruction. He went round the town in a circle; and a fire sprang up, which continued raging for 21 days. The soil too subsiding to the depth of 7 Palmirah trees, the influx of the sea eventually quenched the fire.

Meanwhile the king had continued his prayer for 50 years, after which *Iswara* (Siva) was pleased to bestow on him a son, whom he named Bhimadatta. Disguised as an Ascetic, the king, with great joy, set out with his son for Karnapuram. He sought and inquired for it everywhere, but none could tell him of it. Prosecuting his search, he came to Indra-Kiladri, and asked an old Brahmin whom he

found there if he knew where Karnapuram was. The Brahmin told him the whole past history of the place. The king was struck with surprise ; and seeing that these disasters were caused by the wickedness of the *Mantri*, he asked advice how he might recover his lost kingdom.

The Brahmin was a great worshipper of *Durga* ; and praying fervently to the goddess on behalf of the king, she appeared and asked him what he wanted. The Brahmin answered that the king then present was the former ruler of Karnapuram, and that he wished her to do him good. At the prayers of the goddess, the sea retired from *Angadesám*. Then she erected there a fort and established the king in it, conferring great riches upon him. He subsequently elevated the ground for 100 villages, and peopled them.

While the tenth descendant of this king was on the throne* Chola-rajah, belonging to the race of Sáliváhana, wishing to conquer this fort, built another over against it ; but it was only after 12 years' labour that he succeeded at length in taking it, by reopening a channel from the sea, information regarding which was given to him by a shepherdess. The letting in of the sea thus refilled the Kolair Lake, and made the king quit his fort. Chola-rajah, however, permitted him to erect another village and fort, not far away, called after his own name, Kaldindi, which is still in existence. But during the victorious career of Raja Narendra he was again restored to his own. Subsequently to the Sáliváhana era, during the reign of Tanisha Padsha,† the Rajah was again expelled by the Sirdárs Akkanna and Madanna ; and a portion of land on the seacoast was allotted to him, where he erected his capital and over which he continued to rule.

But the waters have never again retired from the Kolair Lake.

* This would be in the XI. Century A.D.—R. S.

† Probably a Golconda general. Muhammad Kuli Kutb Shah conquered this country in A.D. 1567.—R. S.

XXI.

A DHARWAR VILLAGE FESTIVAL OF DURGA.*

(COMMUNICATED BY A NATIVE OFFICIAL TO SIR W.

ELLIOT, APRIL 20, 1829.)

[This is a festival in honour of Durga as *Mahishásuramardani*—the destroyer of the Demon *Mahishásura*.—W. E.]

AT the village of Mangalagudda, appertaining to the Potadkhal division of Badami Taluk, in the Dharwar Collectorate, is a temple of *Mahishásura-Mardani* (destroyer of a giant transformed into a buffalo) under the name of Mangalavva Devi; and a great feast is solemnized triennially in honour of this deity. Your orders to report in writing on this festival caused inquiry to be made from several well-informed persons, with the following results:

The *Mahákutakshetra* (holy place) is 12 miles in circumference, and is full of *Lingams*. In it is the village of Mangalagudda, of which the goddess is *Mahishásura Mardani*. Formerly to extend her fame in the Kaliyuga (the present Iron age) she appeared to certain *Hatikars* or herdsmen, with whom she was pleased; and from that time the festival has been held every third year. The following are the details with the names of the performers of the festival, and of the *Hatikars* devoted to the goddess.

The worshipper is named Nāgunnah. He is about 60 years old and of the Khshatri caste. The person now actually performing the *Puja* ceremony to the goddess is Mangalavva, a female connected with the family of Nāgunnah's brothers or cousins, and her husband is dead. During her lifetime she alone ought to perform the *Puja*. After her death any one of the worshipper's family who may be commanded by the goddess, shall make the *Puja*. This is the practice at present.

The headmen residing in the village of Nāgarhal, who are of the kurumbar or shepherd caste are: 1 Kenchana Gonda, 2 Bhimana Gonda, 3 Karí Hanumanna, 4 Jádida Papanna.

* Another such Sir Walter described in Trans. Ethnog. Soc., N.S.I., 97-100. Here the details are more complete.—ED.

The four Hatikars or performers of the festival are Hanumanna, Satyanna, Mudakanna, and Ninganna, residents of the village of Bachanagudda, and are of the shepherd caste.

On the 14th day of the decreasing moon of the month *Mágha*, which is the day called Sivaratri (the night of Siva), the four Hatikars pray to the goddess; and, in obedience to her instructions, go to villages where there may be *Sidi* trees, make *puja* to them, and then cut them down and bring them away. They also cut and bring trees from the country wherever procurable. With these they erect a wooden *Mantapa* (porch) called *Hire-handara*, forming a large *pandal* (shed) in front of the goddess.

During the night of the 8th day after the erection of the *Handara*, the four Hatikars, calling out *Sami! Dévara!* (Lord! goddess!) slaughter 6 sheep and cook 1 *kudo* (about 80 quart measures) of *joree* grain (*Holcus Sorghum*), which with repeated cries of *Sami! Dévara!* they dedicate to the goddess, who is seated on the *Maradi* (platform) close by the temple. Then all eat it. The next day, the four Hatikars again slaughter 6 sheep and cook 1 *kudo* of *joree*, as they did the day before, but on the banks of the Atimara-devâ River, at the place where the deity resides.

From the 5th day of the increasing moon of the month *Chaitra*, for 8 days, the four Hatikars pay the priests at the rate of half a pagoda each, for their eating expenses, and as wages.

On the day of the new moon of the month *Phâlguna*, the space in front of the goddess is oramented with the coloured powder called *Arki*, which is thus made: An earthen pot is filled with 11 kinds of grain, cleanly washed in river water, and is placed for 3 nights before the large lamp called *Nanda Dipa** in the priest's house. After 3 days, the grain is pounded, and the powder, dyed in different colours, is used to draw lines in different patterns on the ground in front of the goddess, on the 5th day of the increasing moon, when she is placed on the platform.

* Properly *Ananta Dipa*,—the light kept burning before the idol in every house.

From the 1st to the 4th of the increasing moon of the month *Chaitra*, the priests, Hatikars, etc., worship and distribute charities in their respective houses : nothing is done before or near the goddess. On the 5th of *Chaitra Suddha*, the goddess takes her seat and the female named Mangalavva, who has to worship the goddess, must from that day fast from the preceding night. In the morning, after bathing in the river, she sits, still fasting, before the goddess, and must not stir from that place, till sunset on Saturday. So strictly does she maintain her vigil, as not even to eat, drink, sleep, yawn, etc. On the same day (the 5th of *Chaitra Suddha*) the goddess is placed on her seat, thus : In the evening she is taken to the river and brought back to the pagoda, with drums, tomtoms, and other music ; and her ablution (*abhishika*) takes place in the pagoda with river water. Then she is dressed in a *sári* (or woman's cloth) and the ceremony of "filling the *onti*" (skirt) is performed,—the worshipper clothing the goddess with a new *Sári* and *choli*, and then filling up the receptacle formed by holding up its edges, with dry coconuts, dates, rice, betel nuts, etc. The ceremony is repeated, on the 2nd day by the headmen of the village Nágárhál, and on the 3rd and 4th days by other officials. Afterwards meat offerings are presented by them, in order, and the skirt filled. Next, the Desai (Chief) of the Khata presents a new *sari* and *choli*, the *onti* of which is also filled, and meat offerings made. Then the clerks of the Desai, without presenting a *sari*, fill the *onti* of the one already on. After them the headmen of the village of Potadkhal do the same, and are followed in turn by the village accountants.

During this ceremony, they throw over each other, before the goddess, the *Ranga* or coloured powder of a certain grain mixed with saffron, turmeric, and other powdered colours : the priests begin, and the Hatikars continue in succession. The Circar presents 12 sheep,—four named villages giving each two sheep, and four others each one sheep. The worshippers kill the sheep, placing their heads on the spot covered with coloured powder, and the flesh is

carried to the worshippers at the *Bhandar* or place where the kitchen stores of the goddess are kept.

After this, about daybreak, bull buffaloes are offered. First comes that of the Chief, either already dedicated for this purpose or merely purchased; then that of the inhabitants of Nágarhal, of Revadi, of Undi-Atar; then the Circar Buffalo, and lastly that of the headman of Potadklhal. Buffaloes are also offered, during five days, by those who have vowed to do so. It is the command of the goddess that thousands of buffaloes and *lakhs* of sheep should be killed. Last year from 20,000 to 25,000 sheep and over 400 buffaloes were sacrificed.

The sacrificer of the Buffaloes is of the Dhangar caste. The priest takes up the head of the first buffalo sacrificed, and placing it on his own head, goes with it five times round the pagoda, and then places it on the coloured powder. All the heads are thus placed in the *Mandapa*, while the bodies are carried away by those who offered the animals. On the 6th of the increasing moon of *Chaitra*, mutton is dressed in the kitchen of the goddess, and the married women of the priests' caste, with others, eat it in the presence of the goddess.

Those who have vowed to walk about the Pagoda, clothed only with cinctures of leaves (*hutagi*) now do so for 5 days. This the priests and 3 or 4 of the Hatikar or shepherd families do without paying any fees; and none are paid by the headmen, accountants, chiefs and priests of the 8 villages which offer sheep; but all others who do the ceremony under a vow, pay a fee. There were between 200 and 300 last year.

Another kind of vow now performed is that of rolling their prostrate bodies on the ground 3 or 5 times round the pagoda.

On the 8th and 9th day of the increasing moon of the month *Chaitra*, the ceremony of *Bhagad*, or swinging with the back or side pierced with an iron hook,* here called *Chedal*, is performed by the 4 Hatikars, the chief, head-

* This is now forbidden.—R. S.

men, accountants, etc., without paying any fees ; and then, with a fee, by those who have vowed to do so : last year there may have been about 40 such *Bhagads*.

On the 9th day, the saturnalia connected with the sprinkling of red water called *Vakali* and the plunder of sheep and buffalo heads called *Talisurí* (tali=head, suri=plunder) takes place, the former about noon. Before the *Talisurí*, the *Rákshasa* (demon) who was formerly brought away from the country of Badami, and kept (buried) at this place, is taken out (or raised) by digging a pit in the *Mandapa* and putting into it a cocoanut, with 5 pice, and a black ewe, brought in covered with a cloth, and slaughtered in the pit, which is then filled up. Thereupon all present become frenzied, as if possessed ; and while in this state, they snatch up and carry off the heads of the sheep and buffaloes sacrificed ; and for a couple of hours, during which the plundering lasts, great confusion prevails.

After this, the goddess is taken to the river, and brought back again, the Hatikars washing and cleaning the pagoda in the interval. During the 5 sacrificing days, flies do not swarm about ; but they do after the plunder of the heads.

Performance of *Hutagi* and *Sidi* and the sacrificing of Sheep and buffaloes continue to the full moon of Jyishtha, and depend on the number of devotees from remote parts.

XXII.

SORCERY AND MURDER.

[Extracts from statements made during the trial of two men, Barradu and Suggadu, in 1852 in the Sessions' Court of the Godáveri District ; evidently translated by a native.—R. S.]

The prosecutor, Marla Davan Dora, deposed : “ I see the prisoners now before the Court. I entered into *Nyastam* (engagement of friendship) with the first prisoner whereby I am prohibited from telling his name : the other's name is Suggadu. My plaint is, that on the Dassara feast day, my wife, Viri, went for fuel and brought it to the house. At 7 a.m. she went to a field, when the two brothers, now prisoners before the court, came across to her

on the road. The first had a cudgel in his hand, and the second a bill-hook. The first struck my wife on the head with his cudgel, and she fell. Then the second gave her 2 cuts on the neck with the bill hook, severing the head which fell to one side, apart from the body ; and she died. They did this on the supposition that she was a sorceress. She never killed any one by sorcery. The first prisoner's daughter died ; but I do not know whether naturally or by sorcery. My younger brother's daughter also died ; but sorcery was not suspected, and she died a natural death. The first prisoner's daughter died 15 days before the Dussara feast, after a week's illness. My wife did not attend her or give her any medicine. They were friends ; but on this occasion she did not go ; and I do not know why she was suspected of using sorcery against her. I do not know if any one told the prisoners so. My wife knew no sorcery, and did not say that she would kill the first prisoner's daughter. The belief in sorcery does not exist among men in my (part of the) country. . . . When the prisoners killed my wife, my younger brother Mallu Dora and the first witness, Chota Reddy Dora, were also present. We did not interfere, for fear lest they would kill us also. . . . The cudgel was as large as a hand ; . . . the blow from it broke my wife's head, and blood issued from it. . . . The head was taken away by the same man who cut it off—the 2nd prisoner now before the Court. He carried it off by the hair, under the impression that she being a sorceress, it would otherwise reunite with the body. . . . They buried the head under ground . . . my wife's jewels, *viz.*, 2 marriage plates (worth each 8 annas) and a nose-ring (worth 4 annas) were stolen ; but nothing else ; the second prisoner carried them away, as they had fallen when my wife's head was cut off. . . . I saw them killing my wife, from my house, which was distant, as it is from this place to the Court-house gate (about 30 yards).

* * * * *

[The remainder of the evidence is of the same purport, but of no special interest. The prisoners were convicted.—R. S.]

XXIII.

THE PORUL ADIGÁRUM OF TÓLKÁPPIYAN.

BY A NATIVE.

[I here give three notes of Sir Walter Elliot on this subject, marked A, B, and C, the latter containing a translation of an interesting and very ancient fragment. The *Porul Adigárum* contains an account of the Tamil tribes of Southern India, probably as they existed about 1,000 years B.C. before their absorption into the great dynasties of the peninsula, Chola, Chera, and Pāndya.—R. S.]

A.—CATTLE-RAIDERS.

WHAT is vulgarly called by Tamil people the “cattle-catching fight,” or “cow-fight,” is found in an ancient Tamil work generally named *Porul Adigárum*, of which the cow-fights form only a small portion. The *Porul Adigárum* is the only vestige remaining (except some grammar treatises) of the ancient literature of Southern India containing facts relating to their country, caste, customs, habits, manners, and religion. *Porul*,* primarily signifying “a thing,” or “things,” “a subject,” or “subjects,” comprehends three divisions, viz., *mutarporul*, “first or chief subjects,”† *Karupporul*, “peculiar properties,”‡ and *Uripporul*,§ “essentials” or “habits.” These three together constitute a sort of repertory of ancient manners, each subject ushering in the next. The eight modes of warfare are dealt with, which had long before become obsolete and died out, and of which cow-plundering and cow-rescue are the introductory parts. Then the work dwells on social habits, especially with

* Rottler (vol. ii. 440) does not give a clear explanation of these terms.

† Main subjects, as those relating to time and place, comprised under five kinds of soil, and six divisions of time.

‡ As customs relating to marriage and other social matters (Rottler, i. pt. 2, p. 34).

§ Or subjects of a domestic nature (Rottler, ii. 440).

reference to the eight sorts of marriage-contracts then in use. Intermingled with these are many curious incidents. The tribes mentioned are different castes of Maravars, Kuravars, Pánars, Kurumbars, Idaiyars, Eyinárs,* Urārst Tóniyiyakkuvárs (Boatmen, or River-fishermen), and Pulaiyárs.† It is remarkable that the Paraiyas (Pariahs) are not mentioned by the most ancient writers.§ Mallars, the present Pallars, did exist. Védars and Villiyars also are occasionally mentioned. The work treats of their different avocations: chase, plunder, warfare, selling roots, destroying forests, etc. Their worship of trees, demons, and departed men and women is gathered therefrom,|| also their government by chiefs or patriarchs of families. From it we learn that they were subsequently connected or incorporated with the Cholas, Cheras, and Pandiyas; thus some of the other ruling and partly-civilized people were admitted to caste-privileges (they are the present Kallars, Pallis, Agambadiyas, etc.). Their ancient literature consisted only of war-chants, praises of kings, and love songs. They commemorated their great men by planting or setting up stones.¶ (W. E.)

B.—INTRODUCTION.

As *Kaluvial*, the custom of clandestine marriage, or rather of the ratification of a previous unsanctioned private union was, according to the 3rd Chapter of the 3rd Book of Tolkáppian, peculiar to a class of people called *Yāzhār Kúttam* (the congregation of harp-players), so was the practice of fighting in the matter of cows peculiar to that great body of mountain inhabitants subdivided into Karumbars, Maravars, Tudiyaars, etc., as told in the 2nd Chapter of the same book; the manners of these ancient races are reduced

* Traces of all the others remain, but the Eyinárs are altogether extinct.

† Dwellers in towns, civilized races.

‡ A very low caste still known in Malabar.

§ The Pánars are considered to be Pariahs.

|| This constitutes the worship of the bulk of the people to this day.—R. S.

¶ Such stones may be seen to this day in and near every village in the country, only all trace of any knowledge of their origin has disappeared.—R. S.

to a system in the *Porul Adigárum* of Tolkáppiyān. He, however, derived his *Porul Adigárum* from the more ancient work of the sage Agastya, and called after him *Agastya*. These sages are said to have come from the north (or from Kailās), upon a mission for introducing and improving the Tamil language among the people of the south, and to have written many books, among which was the *Porul Adigárum*, containing rules and descriptions of the then existing manners and customs of the people. . . . Before his death or apotheosis, Agastya ordered his 12 disciples to describe the subject of warfare, only on a more connected system; and their conjoint work is *Purapporul Panniru Pádālam*, i.e. the 12 chapters on Hindu warfare, the oldest work on the subject now extant.

C.—THE PORUL ADIGÁRUM.

The *Porul Adigárum* or *Ilakkannam*, is part of the celebrated work by Tolkáppiyān, on grammar and several other subjects. It consists of 3 parts, or *Adigárums*; but other grammarians divide it into 5 qualities or *Ilakkannams*. The *Porul Adigárum* refers particularly to the third portion, subdivided into two parts: 1. *Agapporul*, or rules for composing amatory poems, with observations on agriculture, soils, and seasons, etc.; and 2. *Purapporul*, or rules for composing war-chants, with notices of warlike operations. The author's real name was Tiranadhumagni; but he is generally known as Tolkáppiyān, or a man from the village of Tolkáppiyam.

The title *Porul Adigárum* is also given to the work of the 12 disciples of Agastya (of whom Tolkáppiyān was one) entitled *Poroporul punniru pádālam*, being 12 chapters on the art of war. These were abridged by Eiyānār Idanār, a member of the third or last college (*Sangha*) of Madura, as the 12 disciples of Agastya were of the first. His work is called *Venba Malai*. These appear to be the only works now extant on the subject, and thus they contain the most ancient notices which we possess of early Hindu custom and polity.

I give a translation of the two first chapters or *Pádálams* of the work of Eryanár Idanár, who is described as “Eiyan Aridhan, the well-versed in the 12 kinds of warfare, governing the whole earth, of imperishable fame, lord of the *Vanavars*, the long armed, grasping the bended bow, who set forth clearly the science of *Porul* (war) in the *Venba malai* (name of the work) that it may be thoroughly understood by the people of the land.”

The introductory remarks treat of the practice of cattle-lifting, the first cause and origin of war, and are taken from a commentary on the *Porul Adigárum*. To this day a common proverb says, that the seizure of cows is the first cause of war. The *Pádálam* is divided into *turais*, of which the *Vetchi-pádálam* has 20. Each *turai* has 3 parts: 1. its name or title (*Kilavai*); 2. its explanation (*Sutram**); 3. an illustration or proof (*varaláru*) in amplification of the *Sutram*, generally a quotation from some standard work in *Vinba* metre, which was that most approved by the *Sanghattár* (Collegians) of Madura. The last is often represented as spoken by different parties to the action, as by one or other of the belligerents, by the king or leader, by the spectators acting as a chorus, or by the author himself.

CHAPTER I.—VETCHI PÁDÁLAM.

The custom of *Vetchitturei* is most frequent in mountainous districts. The description of *Vetchi* comprises 20 subdivisions, each describing an incident of the expedition. This is the general signification of the term *Vetchi*. Its more recent and practical meaning is expressed in the second *Sutram*, thus: The king sends his warriors (*Munei-nár*) to seize the cows (of the enemy) and keep them for the State. The *Vetchi* expedition is carried out either by open force or by stratagem. The warriors go by night, and unexpectedly carry off the booty. When this robbery is known the next day, war is proclaimed, which if carried

* *Sutram*, an amplification of the *Kilavi*, in the metre called *Agavul*, which always ends with the word *uraittándu*, literally “it is said,” and is rendered variously “notice,” “description,” “statement.”

out and completed belongs not to *Vetchitturei*, but to *Vangiturrei*—open warfare. *Vetchi* is a shrub, the flower of which, also called *Vetchi*, must be worn by the leader, his officers and his men, when out on a cattle raid: *turrei* signifies “way,” “manner” or “plan.” Therefore the 8 different kinds of fight refer to the different modes of action in which they are carried on. The term cows (*pasu*) includes all innocent or harmless creatures—Brahmins, women, sick people, unmarried youths and maidens, and children. Though *Vetchi* is a special kind of Hindu warfare, it may be considered the commencement of all the other 7 kinds of warfare, aggressive or defensive. The defence set up for it is curious: According to the Vedas, “the object of a king’s administration being the establishment or practice of virtue, a king intent on the practice of good deeds may, on just cause and in retaliation for evil deeds, deprive another of the indispensably necessary articles of cows, Brahmins, children, etc., for the same reasons for which Vishnu in every *Yuga* comes into the world—to avenge the innocent and punish the wicked.” In the *Bhagavad-gita*, Vishnu declares: “I make my appearance in this world, *Yuga* after *Yuga*, solely to save the *Sādhus* (righteous), to destroy evil-doers, and to establish *Dharma* (virtue).”

If the act of the king, in carrying off the cows of the other, be unjust, naturally the latter immediately pursues the plunderers, to recover his animals. This is termed *Karandei*, from a shrub so named, the flowers of which the king, his officers and men must wear as signs of their determination to relinquish all other work, for the recovery of their lost property.* Tolkappiyan following his Northern

* It is very probable that the highly interesting bull-festivals still held constantly in the Madura country, the home of the Maravars and Kallars, form a relic of bygone raids. Certainly no such custom exists in any country in Southern India, with which I am acquainted. I have been present at some of them. A notice is sent round, and some hundreds of highly fed young bulls are collected and driven into a strongly walled enclosure, having a sort of lane formed by two strong stone walls running outward from the only entrance. The bulls are gaily decorated and have cloths tied between their horns. The plain near the village is crowded

(Sanskrit) teachers includes both seizing and recovery under the head of *Vetchi*, but his successors, from the difference of the actuating motives, divide it into 2 chapters : *Vetchi*, with 20 incidents, and *Karandei* with 14. These incidents are simply so many scenes, from the first action of offence till the victory is decided.

TRANSLATION OF THE VETCHI TURREL.

Contents.

There are 20 acts or incidents, viz. : 1. *Vetchi* ; 2. The noise or bustle of *Vetchi*, *i.e.* arrangements for the march and the din of preparation ; 3. The good omen—ascertaining the chance of success by omens ; 4. The march ; 5. The spying ; 6. Halting outside or lying in ambush ; 7. *Urkolai* ; 8. Seizing the prey, *i.e.* capturing and carrying off the cows ; 9. Fresh contest or rescue, resisting the enemy's endeavours to interrupt the retreat ; 10. Return homewards, by bye-ways, with the cows ; 11. Appearance of the army, *i.e.* return of the party to their own people ; 12. Collecting the spoils, or taking the plundered cattle into the town ; 13. Dividing the spoil ; 14. Eating and dancing—rejoicing after success ; 15. The giving of gifts from the spoil ; 16. Reward for information, honouring

with thousands of people assembled to see the fun and witness the prowess of their young men. The object is for a man to stop a bull and take off the cloth upon its horns, which then becomes his property. The lane leading from the enclosure is lined by the bolder spirits ; every point of vantage is thronged with spectators ; and at the appointed time, amid beating drums and deafening shouts, the gate of the enclosure is opened, and half a dozen bulls are driven out. They dash down the lane in frantic excitement, striking right and left with their horns, while the young braves strive to catch and hold them. Racing out into the plains, they dash half blindly among the crowds, people falling flat on the ground on their approach, when the incensed animals leap over their bodies. The more active and dangerous escape into the fields ; some stand quietly and are easily captured, once they are free of the terrible passage. This goes on for two or three hours, the bulls being let out in batches. It may be easily imagined that this amusement is not without its danger. Often men have been killed at these games. While I was present, one man was badly gored in the arm. But it is a bold, manly sport, requiring great pluck, activity and strength ; and it gave me great pleasure to witness it.—R. S.

those who brought the secret intelligence ; 17. The bird-gift, or present to those who interpreted the bird omens ; 18. The drummer's part ; 19. The *Kottavei Neli*—the honouring and treatment of *Kali*, the goddess of victory ; and 20, the intoxicated dance.

" 1. The King gave order, saying, O chief, go, and seize all the cows, that our enemies perceiving their bodies covered by the arrows of our archers, like cloven billets [of wood] heaped up on the fire, may scream on the battle-field.*

" O maid, with large and black eyes ! deny me not the toddy which trembles [or splashes] in the overflowing jar ; for the cruel-eyed *Maravar*[†] king will not wait, the angry soldier will not pause for a moment. He has put on the war-anklet. We must see our enemies' cows in our yards by the morrow's sun.

" 2. When the long-sighted Maravars stood, and their drums beat, and the men were adorned with the *Vetchi* flowers, ready to march through difficult tracks, the crows resting on the sheds of the beautiful bell-adorned cows in the adversary's territory, set up a low wailing [*i.e.*, they gave warning to the herdsmen of approaching calamity].

" 3. When, in the evening, the army stood worshipping in the royal courtyard of the steel-defended little town, a

* I omit, in each case, the *Kilavai* and *Sutram* (see p. 36) and give only the *Varaláru* as tending to simplicity. Thus in Incident 9, the original runs : *Kilavai*, Fresh Contest ; *Sutram*. The capture effected with so great slaughter is maintained with heavy loss. *Varaláru*. The enemy coming by another path, etc.

† *Maravar* is still the name of a powerful, possibly aboriginal tribe in Madura and Tinnevely, to which the *Rámnád*, *Swaganga*, *Uttrimalai* and many other Potigars and petty chiefs belong. The *Uttrimalai* chief is celebrated in Sungara Namasivaiyar's commentary on the "Nannul." The *Maravars* have traditions of their former power and influence, and point out the sites of many of their ancient strongholds in the open country now usurped by the Villalers, Mudeliars and other Hindu races. The latter still are obliged (or till very lately were) to ask permission of the Maravars to begin their marriages, etc. The Maravars are also accustomed to meet in a great assembly or *kutam*, to discuss matters affecting the interests of the caste. Their funeral rites are peculiar, all their weapons, etc., being buried with them.

maiden cried out, 'Bring the toddy in a jar from the booth'; and then, 'O mighty-handed, never-retreating King! the word is Victory.'

- "4. Fierce bowmen, resembling the emissaries of Death, directed their march towards the place where the cows stood. As they marched on, in their left hand holding their lances, vultures followed them to the tall bamboo-covered hills.

"5. Said one to the Chief: 'O Impetuous wearer of honey-dropping wreaths and of the great war-anklet! our spies have just arrived, in the darkness of midnight having entered the encampment of the enemy and learned well the state of the party, of the cows, and of the hill under which they stand tethered.'

"6. Cried the attacked ones, 'Alas! None can hence escape alive; for by the help of their spies they have surrounded our fastness with their strong men! They will attack us like the fire in the last day; and we shall all be destroyed, for we are so encompassed that we cannot escape!'

"7. Urged by their own valour, the death-dealing bowmen rushed on like hissing fire, and with ringing anklets entered the camp. They captured the fortress in 3 hours and three quarters, after dreadful slaughter.

"8. Like a host of tigers, the serried ranks of spearmen with blood-stained lances, have seized the cows from the heart of the town, whose clusters of bamboos rustle and sigh in the night wind.

"9. The enemy coming by another path, endeavoured to outflank their foes and rescue the surrounded cows. Alas! they fell! Quick in their flight like birds, the blood-stained arrows, shot from the cruel bows of the archers, alighted on the corpses.

"10. 'Let the kine under the shade of the lofty mountain, grazing slowly, proceed together,' said the bow-grasping and victorious anklet-wearer, although he saw the enemy in pursuit, like a mountain torrent.

" 11. The great herd of cows passes on, followed by the rejoicing drums of the successful hero. The oval-eyed women, sitting with their chins resting on their hands, felt their left eyes quiver,* and rejoiced exceedingly.

" 12. The white-toothed women seeing their halls filled with bell-adorned cows, blessed themselves, saying, May the bee-attracting wreath,† with which I was wedded on my marriage-day, continue to flourish!

" 13. To the wielder of the shining sword, to the spy who sought out and brought information, to the augur who declared the auspicious omen, to the victorious Maravars who cut down those [whom the King] pointed out, the captured cows were divided.

" 14. When the soft-voiced damsels, gazing at them with beaming eyes, served out in large measure the clear palm-wine, the anger of the red-eyed Maravars was kindled against their enemies.

" 15. The riches gained by the red-eyed chiefs, raging with their well-bound bows in the front of the battle, were thrown carelessly in exchange for ardent liquor by drummers, trumpeters, messengers and singers.

" 16. Said one to the King, 'There are some who, regardless of death, went day and night into the hostile camp, to bring information. Surely, it is but right, O bearer of the shining-bladed lance! to give to them in more abundant measure!'

" 17. 'There are those who interpreted the favourable bird-omen to us, when we were bent on capturing the

* It is a belief among the Hindu women, even in modern days, that if the muscles of the outer corner of the right eye quiver involuntarily, some great evil will happen,—as that their husbands will die; and that a similar evil to the wife is foretold by the like affection of the husband's left eye. The twitching of the left eye in a woman and of the right in a man is esteemed a favourable omen. Spasmodic movements of the muscle of the right hand foretell the loss of a brother—for a brother is considered like the right hand.

† In the Hindu marriage ceremony, the bridegroom and bride throw each a wreath of flowers over the other's necks. These are kept with great care and treasured up with the silk dresses or wedding garments sent with the *Ta/i* (necklace) on the day preceding the wedding.

enemy's cows, that we might march with confidence. To them give at once 4 large-uddered cows of the Kudanjuttoo breed. Do not delay !'

"18. Said the King to his chief drummer, 'His ancestors were good drummers to my ancestors, his father to my father, as now he is to me. Never have they failed in their hereditary duty to our family. Pour yet more of the clear sweet liquor to the old retainer.'

"19. When the King resolves on a cattle-raid and the destruction of a fortress, the goddess Kottavai* with her lion-flag flying, her green parrot hovering over her, precedes him in her antelope-car, surrounded by demons.

"20. The anklet-wearing Maravar, beheld with favour by Hari [Vishnu], stands resplendent. The jewel-decked, lotus-eyed, moon-faced one, adorned with wreaths and perfumes, dances inspiredly before the god."

CHAPTER II.—THE KARANDEI.

As already stated, this poem contains 14 incidents:—
1. *Karandei*, i.e. the pursuit;—2. The din of preparation for the pursuit;—3. The march through the jungle paths;—4. The fight;—5. Returning with wounds;—6. Loss in the fight;—7. The avenging youth;—8. The coolness of the young Chief;—9. The doings (*lit.* dancing) of the young Chief;—10. The warriors' funeral;—11. The Eulogy;—12. The neglect of the bird-omen;—13. The praises of the King;—14. The eulogy of his race.

"1. As, when in this sea-girt earth, a man would recover a life swallowed up by the god of Death, so the excited [Karumbar†] inhabitants, donning *Karandei* wreaths, rushed furiously after their cows stolen by the foe.

* When the omen of this goddess of Victory is tried, a large and handsome brazen lamp is lighted with a lotus-fibred wick immersed in *ghee*. If the flame rises up straight and burns steadily for 2 or 3 minutes and then begins to flicker, so that the tip of the flame turns 3 times to the right of the inquirer, the result is considered favourable. See a reference to the ceremony in the IV Sargham, 25th Slokam of the Raghuvansam of Kalidas.

† Probably another aboriginal tribe.

"2. With their war-anklets on their left legs,* seizing their cruel bows, grasping their swords in their hands, they presented an appearance as when the god of Death rose and bristled at the cries of their dying relatives.

"3. With the braying of loud conches, horns and other peacock-feather [ornamented] instruments, they hastened with serried ranks and glittering swords over the heated stones of the burning waste, following hard on the foot-prints of their cattle.

"4. Stung by fierce anger, their honour and reputation outraged, they rush like a host of lions, tigers, and war-elephants, to the front and fight with untameable fury.

"5. The leader, chosen by the King himself, when he had humbled the pride of the Maravars, came forth from the fight and stood, warm blood gushing from deep wounds in his body, as streams from a mountain-side.

"6. Is this a matter of wonder? The chief who pursued after the captured cows, and with matchless valour struck on all sides, with his sword, his valiant foe, at last himself fell prone to the earth, and was no more seen.

"7. Then into the fray sprang the noble youth,† overthrowing men like children, heaping up corpses, mocking the cattle-robbers, of whom some fought, some died, and some retreated: the graceful anklet-wearer never giving way one pace, stood fast.

"8. The youth annihilated his enemies! He never sheathed his sharp sword! He danced with redoubled activity on the battle-field before the anklet-wearers, while drums were beaten with ever-increasing rapidity.

"9. He tore open the breasts of the Maravars, dragged out their entrails with his sword, and hung them around

* This is not expressed in the text; but the commentary states that the war-anklet was worn only on the left leg by distinguished warriors, but by the common men on both legs.

† This may refer either to the son of the fallen leader, or, as others think, to the son of the King or Chief, who allowed him to accompany the Commander of the party.

him, while drums sounded, and on all sides swords were brandished. He defied the enemy!

"10. And then he, the renowned of poets, the terror of the hostile band, drooped his head like a wounded tiger, and fell and died! O bards of ancient race, with fame-extolling lyres, born of the flower-wreathed race! are your eyes rocks, that they weep not?

"11. His soul spoke to the King—'O King! when the flood of the enemy poured in upon us, I stayed it with my sword! I alone did it! The others, O exulting anklet-wearing hero! were all day drinking the strained [pure toddy] liquor given by you.'

"12. Though the omen was ill and the bird foretold failure in the serried fight, the youth was not hindered! In reward of his prowess when he beat down his foes by the might of his hand, the invincible bow-wearers bestowed on that very day the honours of precedence, and the first distribution of the cooling leaf.*

"13. How great is the happiness of that fragrant wreath-crowned [Chief] who rising from the shade of his ample canopy [or State umbrella] dashes into a just fight, a fight of vengeance, and gives up his life on his enemy's sword-blade! It is plain as a fruit on the palm of the hand!

"14. His family were of ancient descent, sword-wearers. They stood as kings when the roaring waters retired from the deluged earth and the mountains were uncovered before the land appeared! Day after day, they suppressed wrong; and their fame is world-wide!"

XXIV.

WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE KÔLS.†

Abridgment of Instructions by the Governor-General's Agent on the S. W. Frontier, to the Assistant Agent, in 1837.

* * * * *

9. Hitherto this wild class (Kôls) on losing any property by theft, have repaired immediately to the village of

* The betel-leaf always given at feasts.

† The Kôls are an aboriginal tribe. Compare this practice with the cattle-raids of the extreme South, described at page 38.

the thief or thieves, accompanied by their brethren and friends, and thence driven off cattle without regard to whom they belonged. Reprisals followed, frequently causing bloodshed. This practice has already been strictly prohibited, but care must still be taken to repress it, and also to prevent individuals robbed from allowing the thieves to escape on receiving the value of the property stolen. A few punishments for such offences will prevent their frequent recurrence.

10. The murder of persons of both sexes under a persuasion that they have the power of destroying by witchcraft was a crime of most frequent occurrence before our occupation of the Kôl country. On this subject, I have failed to remove even from the most intelligent Kôls the conviction that some persons do possess the power of destroying whom they please. While this conviction continues, the fear of punishment will not wholly deter these ignorant people from committing murder. We must try to remove the dreadful prejudice, gradually, and by education. Meanwhile I have tried to save the lives of the suspected by warning the heads of villages, that whoever commits murder believing thereby to destroy the witchcraft, will be severely and even capitally punished; and that on their application, we will cause to be removed, with his property, any person whom a majority of the villagers believes to possess such a power, to another village where the same prejudice does not exist against him.

11. Some may think this unjust and hard; but while the conviction remains of the existence of such a power, it seems to me the only presently available plan to save the lives of persons suspected of it; for the Kôls argue that if the witch or wizard remains among them, their destruction is certain, and can be avoided only by getting rid of the person. This belief is so universal that severe measures against it might cause disturbances. Hence, till further orders, you will please to act as I have directed.

12. Besides pointing out continually the folly and wickedness of this practice, much might be done to remove

the belief, by inducing the people to bring their sick in your neighbourhood for treatment by the medical officer in a hospital to be established at a small expense by the Government, with a small increase of the doctor's salary. Numerous cures thus effected of sicknesses supposed to have been caused by sorcery, would in time overcome a conviction so fatal in its consequences.

13. The Kôls generally believe that all their sickness proceeds from these causes : 1st Witchcraft, 2nd the displeasure of their *Devatas* or *Bongas*, and 3rd the Spirit of someone who has died. Against witchcraft, nothing, in their opinion, avails but the removal of the witch or wizard ; hence many are unfortunately murdered each year. When sickness is caused by the *Bonga*, it is appeased by sacrifices rising from fowls to goats, bullocks and buffaloes, causing much waste and frequently leading those who have no animals of the kind required, to procure them by theft. More than one case has already come before me, of the thief pleading the sickness of a child as an excuse for the theft of the necessary sacrifice to the *Bonga*. Such persons finding relief by medicine will cease to hold the *Bonga* as its cause. The spirit of a dead person afflicts only with the same disease as itself died of, and for this the Kôls seem to have no remedy.

14. Many Kôls who have benefited from medicines which I have given them continually apply for it. Hence my hope of destroying their baneful belief in witchcraft, by establishing a Hospital, especially if its medical officer take a personal interest in its success.

XXV.

WITCHCRAFT IN AFRICA.

[Sir W. Elliot follows the note on Witchcraft among the Kôls, by the following extract from the *Delhi Gazette* of the 8th November 1851. Our knowledge of Africa is rapidly being extended ; but this note on the customs of the Zulu and Amakosa tribes of S. Africa, 40 years ago, is still of sufficient interest to warrant reproduction.—R. S.] (It is slightly abridged.)

“ The following account of the system of witchcraft, which prevails among the Zulu and Amakosa Kafirs, is

given in the appendix to a pamphlet by 'Veritas' on the 'Kafir Labour Question,' just published at Natal :

"Witchcraft is now known only by name to the Englishman ; and recounting some of its stories in bygone days, sometimes gives interest to the social circle. But among the Kafirs of Natal and the adjacent countries, witchcraft is still one of the most elaborate systems of terror and suffering which fallen humanity ever invented. Among Kafirs it is accompanied with secret poisoning on a large scale. Nearly every Kafir Kraal has its poison-maker whose business it is to experiment with herbs, roots, etc., and to extract poison from serpents, for producing by skilful combination the most effectual poison, and devising the best mode for administering it with the least probability of detection. With them in poisoning, as with us in medicine, he who can produce the best, becomes the most celebrated and does the best trade. A short time ago the most celebrated in Pietermaritzburg was a young man—the servant of a white man. No one can be certain that his servant is not engaged in this traffic ; but as Kafirs do not try to injure white men thus, the statement need create no fear in any breast. But among the Kafirs themselves the knowledge of this fact produces constant suspicion and dread. Besides poisons causing immediate death they make 'Ubuti' or bewitching matter, which they secretly use for producing sickness and death among cattle or in each other's families. Hence if death or any misfortune befalls a man, his family or his cattle, it is at once said that they are bewitched ; and some persons must be found out as having committed the offence. This brings into action and developes all the bad passions of the human heart,—jealousy, hatred, malice, revenge, covetousness. The victim selected as the author of the evil is generally a rival for a certain girl,—whom the one can only secure by removing the other,—or the owner of much cattle which his neighbours covet,—or one who has become obnoxious to some great person, etc. Hence arises a spirit of universal dread : any person one meets may be the secret cause of death to him

or to those he loves best ; who under the guise of friendship, may with a smiling face administer the means of death. Hence it is usual for the host first to eat a part of the food he gives to his guest, as a proof that there is no poison in it ; nor would the guest partake of his host's bounty without such proof that his life was not in danger. This mark of friendly hospitality is not the most agreeable to an English stranger unacquainted with its reason.

“ This results in raising up a class called *Tsanuse*—witch-doctors,—devoted solely to the study of medicine and the practical detection of witches. They not only profess to cure diseases by medicines, but also to have a supernatural knowledge of the person, called *Umtakati*, who has caused the disease or occasioned death.

“ But not every one can be a *Tsanuse*—the aspirant must undergo a regular course of preparation. As our physicians go through a course of study and rise by their own skill to eminence, so must the *Tsanuse* be a clever and sagacious youth, bent on his profession, so that his neighbours, seeing his exploits and wit, may point him out as likely to become a *Tsanuse*. This subject will not only occupy his thoughts by day but also fill his visions by night, and he will dream of wonderful things, especially wild beasts—lions, tigers, wolves, serpents. Serpents,—supposed to be possessed by the spirits of their forefathers and departed chiefs,—occupy a prominent place in the attention of the aspirant to the honour of being a *Tsanuse*. He proceeds to relate his dreams to his friends and neighbours ; goes into fits ; runs about shrieking ; plunges into water ; performs wonderful feats. His friends declare he is mad ; and he speaks and acts as one under the influence of a supernatural being. He next catches live snakes (I suppose harmless ones), and hangs them about his neck, as a proof that there is something supernatural about him. With the snakes, and taking a goat, he goes to a *Tsanuse*. The goat he gives as a present to the doctor, to obtain instruction in the secrets of the profession, and the living serpents round his neck

show that he is prepared for initiation into its mysteries. After a short stay here, he obtains a variety of medicines, strong-smelling roots called *Impepo*, besides some instructions. He then goes, with a cow or ox, to a still more celebrated *Tsanuse*, presenting the beast, to obtain further instruction. Here he obtains more medicines, roots, etc., and going home puts them in his house and hangs them about his body.

“His education is now considered sufficiently completed in both the art of medicine and the mysteries of witchcraft for him to practise by himself. The people say that he is changed—or is a new man—or has another spirit—using the same term *Ukutwasa* that is used for the change of the moon. Competent judges hold that *Tsanuse* are in contact with the devil, who by lying wonders and supernatural manifestations helps their infernal work. Be this as it may, they possess astonishing penetration and make disclosures which hold the Kafir nation in the unwavering belief that the spirits of the departed tell them all that passes.

“The practice is as follows: At some kraal some one is suspected of being an ‘*Umtakati*’ and of having bewitched some person or the cattle. As stated, the suspected is usually a rich man, or there is some other motive for having him removed. The people of the kraal and neighbourhood where the *Umtakati* lives now resolve to go to the *Tsanuse*, who lives probably far away. All must go, including the person suspected,—refusal to go would be a proof of guilt. Meanwhile the *Tsanuse*, to whom they are going, gives mysterious indications, and without knowing the parties or whence they came, he usually foretells, as if omniscient, their approach, as it actually occurs.

“On their arrival, they sit down and salute him. The *Tsanuse* steps forward and requests them to beat the ground with their sticks. This is called *Ukubula*; and while they do it, he repeatedly shouts ‘*Yezwa! yezwa!*’ (Here! here!). He then begins to tell them about the *Umtakati*, his name and father’s name, his abode, the crime com-

mitted, where it was done, etc. It is amazing that in nearly every particular he is correct ; and as he was before a perfect stranger to all the parties, they exclaim at once that he is a great *Tsanuse*, and that the spirit has given correct information.

“ But if he should not succeed in discovering the *Umtakati* by the *Ukubula*, he places them all in a circle around himself, stating that the spirit will not speak without the dance, to which he must now proceed. He ties to all the joints of his body bundles of sticks and assegais, tails of beasts and skins of animals and serpents, fixing feathers of ravenous birds in his hair. He thus already looks the most like a fiend incarnate that can be conceived, so that the children and young people run away in the greatest fright. Thus prepared he enters, with incantations, upon his diabolical dance. His eyes roll with infernal glare ; the motions of his body resemble those of the most terrible frenzy, every muscle and joint quivering with sympathetic expression. Even the men who went to witness the scene are aghast with horror while this terrific being conjures up the infernal spirit to obtain the requisite information. His victim is now pointed out ; and in nearly every case he indicates the *Umtakati*. Although the *Umtakati* may be perfectly innocent, he will probably confess at once. But if he maintains his innocence, the Amakosa Kafirs put him to the torture, to make him confess : hot stones are applied to his body, or he is laid down and covered with black ants or small scorpions, under the excruciating pain of whose bites the poor wretch confesses or dies ! But among the Zulus, if the right person is not fixed upon, they go to a more celebrated *Tsanuse* till they succeed. The *Umtakati* who confesses is, among the Amakosa, ‘eaten up’—that is, all his cattle and property are seized by the chief and parties concerned, and he is expelled as an outcast and a vagabond upon the face of the earth. Among the Zulus, the *Umtakati* is killed, with his wife and children, and his property is seized, till not a vestige is left, and his name is blotted out utterly.”

XXVI.

NOTES ON THE DISEASE CALLED *CHOLERA MORBUS*,
OR *CHOLERA ASPHYXIA*.

Appearance of Cholera in 1787 at Arcot.

THE following notice is from the proceedings of the Medical Board of the Madras Presidency, dated the 29th November 1787: "A disease having prevailed in October last at Arcot similar to an Endemic that raged amongst the natives about Paliconda in the Ambore valley in 1769-1770, in an army of observation in January 1783, and in the Bengal Detachment at Ganjam in 1781, and several other places at different times, as well as Epidemic over the whole coast in 1783, under the appearance of Dysentery, Cholera Morbus, or Mordyscim, but attended with spasms at the præcordia and sudden prostration of strength as characteristic marks; seeing that this Board is ordered to make a record, the Physician General recommends as a guide to future practitioners, that a letter from Mr. Thompson, Surgeon of the 4th Regiment, containing an account of the dissection of one of the patients who died of the disease, and describing the state of the viscera, may be entered on the face of the proceedings, together with two letters from Mr. Duffin, Head Surgeon at Vellore, and one from Mr. Davis, Member of the Hospital Board, containing an account of the causes, symptoms and successful treatment of the sick by the use of the hot bath and fomentations, supporting the *vis vitæ* with wine, &c., and removing the putrid colluvies from the intestines. The Hospital Board sensible of the advantages that may result to the service from the mode proposed by the Physician General, direct their Secretary to enter the letters he has mentioned, as follows: . . .

Supposed to be noticed in Hindu Writings.

"Cholera has been supposed to be described in the medical writings of the Hindus, some of which are of great

antiquity, as may be inferred from their being attributed to Dhanwantary, a mythical personage coinciding in character with the Æsculapius of the Greeks. In a work of this author, styled the *Chintamani*, a disease resembling cholera is classed under the generic term *Sannipatha*, which includes all paralytic and spasmodic affections. The species of *Sannipatha* supposed to be the spasmodic or epidemic cholera, is called *Sitavga*, and is thus described: 'Chilliness like the coldness of the moon over the whole body, cough and difficulty of breathing, hiccup, pains all over the body, vomiting, thirst, fainting, great looseness of the bowels, trembling of the limbs.' Cholera is supposed by others, to be classed under the generic term *Ajerna* or *Dyspepsia*. The species, which is considered to correspond with the spasmodic or epidemic cholera is called *Vidhumar Vishúchi*, and is thus described: 'The *Vishúchi* is most rapid in its effects. Its symptoms are, dimness of sight in both eyes, perspiration, sudden swooning, loss of understanding, derangement of the external and internal senses, pains in the knees and calves of the legs, griping pains in the belly, extreme thirst, lowness of the bilious and windy pulses, and coldness in the hands, feet, and the whole body.' The first of these descriptions would apply more perfectly to the epidemic cholera, were it not that in a commentary thereon, in a Tamil work styled the *Yugumani Chintamani*, the *Sitavga* is stated to be incurable, and fatal in 15 days. The latter description is perhaps less applicable, as not noticing either vomiting or purging amongst the symptoms. An attempt has been made to reconcile these two opinions by supposing that the *Vishúchi* is in fact the *Sitavga* in a more virulent or epidemic form; but it is not contended that the *Vishúchi* itself is always epidemic. On the contrary, it is said to be by no means uncommon, and to be described in these familiar but emphatic words, 'being seized with vomiting and purging, he immediately died.' These observations are drawn from a letter in the *Madras Courier*, dated 2nd January 1819,

which was attributed to the pen of a gentleman well known for his partiality to and deep knowledge of Hindu literature. This paper being altogether curious, is given in the appendix, together with a very interesting letter from a respectable and learned native, Ram Raz, attached to the College, to whom it was submitted, in order to be compared with the most authentic copies of the medical works, from which the extracts purport to have been taken.

Noticed by Bontius in 1629.

“The Dutch physician Bontius, who wrote in the year 1629 at Batavia, thus describes Cholera Morbus : ‘ Besides the diseases above treated of as endemic in this country, the Cholera Morbus is extremely frequent. In cholera, hot, bilious matter, irritating the stomach and intestines, is incessantly and copiously discharged by the mouth and anus. It is a disorder of the most acute kind, and therefore requires immediate attention. Its principal cause, next to a hot and moist disposition of the air, is an intemperate indulgence in eating fruits, which, when green or beginning to putrefy, irritate and oppress the stomach by their superfluous humidity, and produce an acrid bile. The cholera might, with some degree of reason, be reckoned a salutary excretion ; since such humours are discharged in it as, if retained, would prove prejudicial. However, as by such excessive purgations the animal spirits are exhausted, and the heart, the fountain of heat and life, is overwhelmed with putrid effluvia, those who are seized with this disorder generally die, and that so quickly as in the space of four and twenty hours at most.

“Such, among others, was the fate of Cornelius Van Royen, steward of the hospital of the sick, who being in perfect health at six in the evening was suddenly seized with the cholera and expired in terrible agony and convulsions before twelve o'clock at night ; the violence and rapidity of the disorder neutralizing the force of every remedy. But if the patient should survive the period abovementioned, there is great hope of a cure.

“ ‘This disease is attended with a weak pulse, difficult respiration, and coldness of the extremities ; to which are joined, great internal heat, insatiable thirst, perpetual wakefulness, and a restless and incessant tossing of the body. If together with these symptoms, a cold and foetid sweat should break forth, it is certain that death is at hand.’

“ In treating of the ‘Spasm,’ this author says : ‘This disorder of the Spasm, almost unknown with us in Holland, is so common in the Indies, that it may be reckoned among the common endemic diseases of the country. Its attack is sometimes so sudden, that people become in an instant as rigid as statues ; while the muscles either of the anterior or posterior part of the body are involuntarily and violently contracted. A terrible disorder ! which without any primary defect of the vital or natural functions, quickly hurries the wretched sufferer in excruciating torment to the grave, totally deprived of the capacity of swallowing either food or drink. There are also other partial spasms of the limbs ; but these being more gentle and temporary, I shall not treat of them.

“ ‘People affected with this disease look horribly into the face of the by-standers, especially if, as often happens, both the cheeks are drawn convulsively towards the ears when the spasm comes on ; a red and green colour is reflected from the eyes and face ; the teeth are gnashed ; and instead of the human voice, a harsh sound issues from the throat, as if heard from a subterraneous vault : to those unacquainted with the disorder the patient appears to be a dæmoniac. . . .’

“ Although Bontius has treated of ‘the Spasm’ and of ‘Cholera Morbus’ under separate chapters, it is highly probable that these disorders were one and the same. . . .

Noticed by Dr. Paisley in 1774.

“ The next notice in point of time, which we find of cholera is in a letter written by Dr. Paisley at Madras, dated 12th February 1774, as given by Curtis in his publication on the diseases of India. Dr. Paisley says, ‘I am

favoured with yours, and am very happy to hear you have caused the army to change its ground ; for there can be no doubt, from the circumstances you have mentioned, that their situation contributed to the frequency and violence of the attacks of this dangerous disease, which is, as you have observed, a true Cholera Morbus—the same they had at Trincomalee. It is often epidemic among the blacks whom it destroys quickly, as their relaxed habits cannot support the effects of sudden evacuations, nor the more powerful operation of diseased bile. In the first campaign made in this country the same disease was horridly fatal to the blacks ; and fifty Europeans of the line were seized with it. I have met with many single cases since (many of them fatal or dangerous) of different kinds, arising from putrid bile being distributed by accidental causes, or by emetics or purgatives exhibited before it had been blunted or corrected. . . .’

“Sonnerat, whose travels in India embrace the period between 1774 and 1781, speaks of an epidemical disease on the Coromandel Coast, in all respects resembling cholera.

“‘The flux of this kind which reigned some years ago spread itself in all parts, making great ravages : above sixty thousand people from Cheringam to Pondicherry, perished. Many causes produced it. Some were attacked for having passed the night or slept in the open air ; others for having eaten cold rice with curds ; but the greater part for having eaten after they had bathed and washed in cold water, which caused an indigestion, with a universal spasm of the nervous kind, followed by violent pains and death, if the patient was not speedily relieved. This epidemic disorder happened during the northerly winds in December, January and February ; when they ceased, the malady disappeared. The only specific which Choisel, a foreign missionary, found, was treacle and *Droque-amère*.’ Sonnerat notices the term ‘Mort de chien’ as being used in India, but applies it to ‘indigestions,’ which ‘are very frequent,’ and from which ‘many have died suddenly.’ . . .

At Ganjam in 1781.

“Cholera appears to have manifested itself pretty extensively as an epidemic in 1781. Its appearance on this occasion is thus noticed in the report on Cholera, by Mr. Jameson, Secretary to the Calcutta Medical Board: ‘A Division of Bengal Troops, consisting of about 5,000 men, was proceeding, under the command of Colonel Pearse of the Artillery, in the Spring of 1781, to join Sir Eyre Coote’s army on the coast. It would appear that a disease resembling cholera had been prevalent in that part of the country (the Northern Circars) sometime before their arrival; and that they got it at Ganjam on the 22nd March. It assailed them with almost inconceivable fury. Men previously in perfect health dropped down by dozens; and those less severely affected were generally dead or past recovery within less than an hour. The spasms of the extremities and trunk were dreadful, and distressing vomiting and purging were present in all. Besides those who died, above five hundred were admitted into Hospital on that day. On the two following days the disease continued unabated, and more than one half of the army was now ill.’ In a note it is added, ‘The occurrence of the disease on this occasion is noticed in a letter, dated 27th April 1781, from the Supreme Government to the Court of Directors; and the destruction, which it caused in this detachment, is mentioned in terms of becoming regret.’

“After adverting to its progress in the Circars, the letter thus proceeds: ‘The disease to which we allude has not been confined to the country near Ganjam. It afterwards found its way to this place (Calcutta); and after chiefly affecting the native inhabitants so as to occasion great mortality during a fortnight, it is now generally abated, and is pursuing its course to the northward.’”

Noticed by Curtis in 1782.

“From this period up to the year 1787 [and perhaps even to 1790] the cholera would appear to have existed epidemically in various parts of India. Curtis states that the

fleet in which he served, joined Sir Edward Hughes' squadron at Madras, in the beginning of 1782. In May of that year, his ship, the *Sea-horse*, arrived at Trincomallee, and he says: 'The *Mort de chien*, or cramp, I was also informed by the attending Surgeon, had been very frequent and fatal among the seamen, both at the hospital and in some of the ships, particularly in the *Hero* and *Superb*. . . . About the middle of July 1782, I entered on duty at Madras Hospital. Here again I had occasion to see many more cases of the *Mort de chien*. It was frequent in the fleet in the month of August and the beginning of September, the season at which the land wind prevails on this part of the coast. We had some cases in the hospital in the end of October, and in November after the monsoon, but few in comparison. . . .'

"It is also noticed in the Bengal Report, that in the month of April 1783, cholera destroyed above 20,000 people assembled for a festival at Hurdwar; but it is said not to have extended to the neighbouring country. All these authorities would seem accordingly to establish the fact of the prevalence of cholera in India; and specially of its existence during the period extending from 1769-70 to 1787, when we find the first notice of the disease in the records of this office, . . . and which we now come to consider.

Dr. Duffin's account of it at Vellore in 1787.

"Doctor Duffin, in a letter dated the 28th October 1787, says: 'I returned yesterday from Arcot, where I had an opportunity of seeing the situation of the sick. The Cholera Morbus rages with great violence, with every symptom of putrescency; and so rapid is its progress, that many of the men are carried off in 12 hours' illness.'"

Cholera noticed in 1790 in the Northern Sircars.

It is stated in the Calcutta report, that Cholera was again very prevalent and destructive in a Detachment of Bengal troops marching through the Northern Sircars, in the months of March, April, May and June of 1790. . . .

A cursory inspection of the register of burials which has been kept at St. Mary's Church in Fort St. George from so remote a period as the year 1680, affords some grounds for believing that the population of Madras, including the military and sea-faring classes, have at certain periods suffered much from epidemics; no light, however, is thrown on the nature of the sickness which may have prevailed. Thus, in 1685, the number of funerals was 31, which is about the average of the four previous years; in 1686 there were 57 funerals; in 1687,—93; in 1688,—84; in 1689,—75; after which they gradually diminished to about the first standard. The funerals amounted again to more than the usual number in 1711, being 92; in 1712,—89; and 1714,—80. In 1755 there appeared to have been much sickness, 101 funerals having then taken place. The deaths increased yearly till 1760, when there were 140. After this they decreased, and continued stationary till 1769, when 148 took place, a great many of which were of seamen, soldiers, and recruits. A most remarkable increase in the mortality is observable at a period when we know that cholera prevailed on the coast. Thus from the year 1770 to 1777, the average number of funerals was about 105 in the year, the population, it is to be supposed, having by this time increased. From that period till 1785, the funerals were: In 1778,—165; in 1779,—190; in 1780,—353; in 1781,—516; in 1782,—657; in 1783,—440; in 1784,—250; in 1785,—99.

The occasional presence of fleets and armies no doubt contributed to swell the lists of funerals at particular periods; but on the occasions in question the mortality extended also to the civil population; and as the instance of the greatest mortality which is recorded took place at a time when we know from other sources that cholera prevailed on the coast, there seems ground for inferring that the same cause probably existed on the other occasions which have been noticed. Though not immediately connected with the subject, we may here be permitted to

remark, that an examination of the obituary affords signal proof of an amelioration in the health of sea-faring people, the mortality amongst them, in remote periods, appearing to have been excessive, in comparison with that of modern times.

Returns of sick to the Hospital Board from Arcot and Vellore from 1789 to 1814 : (cholera is known to have prevailed during the three first years) :

1787--	130	1792--	0	1797--	0	1802--	8	1807--	79	1812--	40
1788--	54	1793--	13	1798--	1	1803--	45	1808--	60	1813--	45
1789--	34	1794--	3	1799--	0	1804--	53	1809--	57	1814--	65
1790--	9	1795--	1	1800--	2	1805--	16	1810--	133		
1791--	7	1796--	6	1801--	25	1806--	55	1811--	67		

In an interesting paper on the history of cholera, in the Indian Annals of Medical Science, Dr. D. B. Smith quotes Dr. John Macpherson and other authorities, to prove that malignant cholera showed itself in one of the first campaigns of Europeans in India, in the year 1503. The Portuguese found it in India. The first undoubted great epidemic of cholera within the period of European intercourse with India, took place at Goa, in 1543. From the accounts of Zacutus, Bontius and others, the disease appears, about 1632, to have been widely diffused in Java, India, Arabia and Morocco. There was a period of quiescence of the disease in the early part of the 18th century—then a great outburst after 1756, which lasted about thirty years, and was followed by a period of comparative rest till 1817. Since that time it had been active. Dr. Smith has done a service in reprinting the correspondence between Mr. C. Chapman, Judge of Jessore, and Mr. W. B. Bayley, Secretary to Government during the great outburst of 1817 in that District and Burdwan.

A shrine was opened, in 1817, at Kidderpore, to a newly created goddess, who was known as the celebrated Oola Bibi (the "Lady of the Flux!"), rival of the great *Kālī*

Dévi, whose famous temple is at Kali Ghaut, on the banks of Tolly's Nullah, which was formerly the channel of the Hooghly. The term cholera (according to Corbyn) was derived, by Trallian, from *cholas* an intestine, and *rheo* to flow—literally “bowel-flux.” The old native (Mahratta) name for the disease was *Mordshi*. Dr. Macpherson has traced the history of the term in a very interesting manner. *Mordschi* first became *Mordeshi*, then the *Mordeshin* of the Portuguese, which in turn was corrupted into the *Mort de Chien* of the French.

[This last passage is a printed extract in Sir Walter Elliot's note-book, but I do not know its source.—R. S.]

XXVII.

TRAVANCORE CORONATION CEREMONIES:

(An account of the *Tulabharam* and *Hiranyagarbham*,—ceremonies obligatory on the Rajas of Travancore,—given to Sir W. Elliot by a Travancore Brahman.)

IT has long been the imperative duty of every Raja of Travancore, as soon as possible after his accession to the throne of his forefathers, to perform two expensive ceremonies, called *Tulabharam* and *Hiranyagarbham*; for their performance alone can enable him to bear the title of *Kulasekhara Perumal*, and confirm him on his ancestral throne. Although several of the ancient Rajas are found not to have thus legally acquired the title, perhaps from a failure of the requisite pecuniary means, yet those princes had reigned before the whole principality had acknowledged one sole sovereign. Since the reduction of the petty chiefs by Raja Mârtanda Varma of Attingal, all the princes seem to have undergone these ceremonies, with the exception of the two who were excluded, by reason of their sex, from their performance.

Hiranyagarbham alone can render the prince efficient to wear the crown of Travancore; and in order to be eligible for that, the Raja must have previously performed the ceremony of *Tulabharam*.

I. *Tulabharam*.

Tulabhâram is derived from *Tula*="a pair of scales," and *Bharam*="weighing," meaning weighing in a pair of scales. This ceremony is the more expensive of the two, as it not only requires a large quantity of gold correspond-

ing with the weight of the prince, but much more money besides to serve as donations to several pagodas and to attendant Brahmans.

An auspicious day being previously fixed, the Raja sends his summons to all the *Namburies* (local Brahmans) to attend at the ceremony, and assist him in its performance. These people live in the southern parts of Travancore, their principal seats being Trichur in Cochin, and Trivandrum in Malabar near Calicut. Whatever may be the pursuits in which they happen to be then engaged, they must abandon them and repair without delay to the place appointed for the celebration of the ceremony. When the high priests of these Brahmans come, the Raja is required to go forth to meet them, and to lead them to the place allotted for their residence, paying them all manner of attention and reverence. Modern civilization, however, has introduced changes into this custom, which denoted the superiority of ecclesiastical rule. Instead of the prince, the head-officer of the palace goes, and after communicating to them the ceremony for which they are required, he desires from them a memorandum of the details of its observance, the provision required, and the penance which His Highness should previously perform. This is only a matter of form ; for every preparation has been already made agreeably to ancient custom. Great numbers of Brahmans, both local and foreign, assemble, and have to be fed and maintained without distinction. Prayers are periodically chanted in the Grand Pagoda at Trivandrum. About a week before the actual commencement of the ceremony, His Highness has to perform some highly mortifying penance. Then the ceremonials commence, which last 7 days. *Homams* or sacrifices, together with the recital of the Vedas, are performed by certain *Namburies*, whose hereditary privilege it is to officiate on such occasions. The foreign Brahmans are not allowed to take part : they are only appointed to attend the *Namburies* in their duties. As the seventh day approaches, a large temporary *pandal*, or decorated pavilion,

is erected in the grand Pagoda, well ornamented with tinsel work, Mango leaves, and Plantain trees, as prescribed in the Hindu *Shastras*. The four sides are secured with strong railings to restrain the crowd of spectators from entering the sanctuary. The *pandal* is built generally in an elevated spot, so that all the people may see the weighing of the prince. On the morning of the 7th day, the gold already collected for the purpose and converted into massive bars is taken with great pomp to the pagoda, followed by a large number of spectators' who crowd to get even a slight glimpse of the ceremonial. The gold is deposited in a particular position, and is purified by being sprinkled with sacred water by the high priest.

The Raja, after performing his morning devotion, proceeds to the Pagoda and prostrates himself before the deity in it. Then, dressed in his royal ornaments and attended by all his officers, he comes to the gate of the *pandal*, where he makes *danam* or the giving of nearly 100 cows to respectable, learned, and poor Brahmins. Then he takes off his ornaments and replaces them by a set of new ones of less value, as they become the perquisite of the High priest after the performance of the ceremony. Then the High priest briefly explains the necessity of the ceremony; and after certain passages from the Vedas have been repeated, His Highness is slowly led to the platform where the balance to weigh him has been erected, made of wood, well painted, and covered with green tafeta. The scales are of silver, some three feet in diameter, and are suspended by means of ropes made of twisted silken cords, entwined and covered with gold thread. In one of the scales, destined to bear the weight of the Royal person, a small cushion is placed, and on it a few *Darbhas* or pieces of sacred grass. His Highness, after falling at the feet of the High priest and the Brahmans generally, is slowly led, amidst loud acclamations, to his appointed scale, which stands at the height of a yard from the ground, to facilitate his mounting it. When the lucky hour has arrived the

members of the Royal family, the priests and officials are allowed to enter within the railings; and His Highness slowly places himself in one of the scales, while the gold is brought, amidst the beating of tom-toms, and put into the other scale. The sound of the clapping of hands and a peculiar strain of music convey to the eager crowd the information that their Raja has been placed in the balance. Then follows a rush to have a glimpse of the extraordinary scene. The crowd is so immense that should proper measures be by chance neglected, many are likely to be trodden to death. The gold continues to be poured into one scale till the other, in which the prince is seated, rises aloft. His Highness must remain nearly half an hour in the scale, when certain sacrifices, etc., are made; and then the High Priest proclaims that the ceremony is over. The Raja thanks the local Brahmans for the trouble they have taken, and, as a reward, distributes half of the entire gold among the priests.

Then His Highness is triumphantly led, amid the acclamations of the people, to the presence of the deity, where, after paying certain prescribed gold coins, His Highness is congratulated by the High priest, in the name of the deity, and receives some trifling presents. The remaining half of the entire gold is taken to the mint and coined into special coins* bearing the inscription in Malayalam letters, *Sri Padmanabham*.

Every Brahman, without regard to his rank, receives a certain number of these golden coins, in proportion to the number of the members of which his family consists. The Brahmans are fed well during several days, and are then dismissed with suitable presents. The share which the local Brahmans receive is in a quantity of gold, which they take home. Great festivities commemorate the occasion, and no circumstance that would enhance its pomp is neglected.

* The value of the coins I am not able to find out : it could be ascertained only by a reference to the authorities in the mint.

II. *Hiranyagarbham*.

Tulabhâram prepares the Raja for undergoing the ceremony of *Hiranyagarbham*, which is similar in the fixing of a lucky day, and the issuing of the Royal summons to the *Namburies*, but this ceremony does not last longer than a couple of days. *Hiranyagarbham*, or, as it is sometimes called, *Padmagarbham* means birth from Gold, or birth from the Lotus.

A large *mandapam* or pavilion is set apart for this purpose, in the grand Pagoda at Trivandrum. There all the local Brahmans assemble, and sacrifices begin to be made, continuing for about a week. A couple of days before the actual performance of the ceremony, the golden vessel—which has to be specially made for the purpose, is carried from the palace to the Pagoda through the streets, accompanied by a large concourse of people who flock to have even a peep at the vessel a few minutes' detention in which capacitates a person to wear the royal crown.

The vessel is of the height of an average man, round, and plain, without any ornamental workmanship. The covering is supported by lotuses curiously carved. The gold is not quite pure being much alloyed with copper and silver.

The vessel on arriving at the Pagoda is deposited in the centre of the *Mandapam*, and the *Namburies* commence to fill it with the *Panchakavyam*, or five sacred Liquids,—Milk, *Tair* (whey), Sugar, Lime-juice and Honey. The whole apartment is well decorated with temporary work in tinsel and flowers which must have been procured from all parts of the country. When all the preparations are complete, His Highness sets out in public procession, with all his family, officers and attendants, and goes directly to the Pagoda where he offers some coins. This done, he proceeds to the place prepared for the ceremony, where all his ornaments are taken away, as he must enter the vessel without them, to denote that man has no worldly ornaments at his

birth, whatever may be his ultimate supreme rank in the world. The *Namburies* repeat certain texts of the Vedas. Then His Highness himself slowly removes the covering, and makes his appearance, as if he had been just born. All the priests congratulate him on his second birth, while peals of Artillery specially brought for the occasion, convey the intelligence that the Raja has completed his second birth, and that he is now fitted to wear the crown for which he had been required to undergo so many pains. Hitherto there has been no crowd as only a select number are admitted, owing to the sacred nature of the ceremony. Any pollution or any other obstacle unfortunately occurring is sufficient to necessitate a recommencement of the whole work afresh. So it requires much vigilance to see that no such accident occurs.

The prince, on coming out of the golden vessel, at once bestows it on certain *Namburies* whose privilege it is to receive the whole. In the case of *Tulabhâram*, the foreign Brahmans have a claim to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the gross amount of gold. Here even the *Namburies* themselves receive nothing but some customary donations. The vessel in which the *Hiranyagarbham* ceremony takes place is, I think, valued at Rs. 30,000. It would cost still more if its value were not diminished by the admixture of silver and copper. The person who receives the sacred vessel (symbolic of a womb) is not allowed to leave it in the pagoda : he must remove it as soon as possible ; because its continuance there would pollute the whole Pagoda. His Highness then bathes in fresh water and enters an apartment where everything necessary has been already arranged for his purification. Among the Hindus, the birth of a child brings pollution : so the artificial birth also is held to have, in its character, something which requires an early purification. After the recitation of certain Vedic texts, a large vessel filled with the sacred water of the Ganges, specially ordered for the purpose, is brought, and the water is slowly poured on the Raja's head. This done, His Highness returns to the adjacent

Palace and again comes forth dressed in his most gorgeous style. He is now led by the High priest to the platform in front of the principal deity. The High priest briefly congratulates His Highness on the performance of the ceremony, requesting him to prostrate himself thrice before the deity, while everyone is compelled to maintain perfect silence. The High priest advances to the front, and thrice calls His Highness by the name of *Kulasekhara Perumal*. The state of bondage to the ecclesiastical circles is so great that the very prince who is the master of the whole country is compelled by usage to reply: "Thy slave." Then the crown which has been previously placed at the feet of the deity is brought and placed on the Royal brow. On receiving the crown, the prince prostrates himself again, and next receives his regal sword and seal. The conclusion of the ceremony is announced to the people outside the enclosure by music, and to the whole city by peals of artillery.

It is considered that *Padmanabhaswami* (an incarnation of Vishnu) is the true lord of Travancore. One of the former Rajas of Travancore, intimidated at the hostile intentions of Tippu Sultan,* and anticipating an annihilation of his authority, was induced to dedicate his own kingdom to the Ruler of the Universe to obtain mercy for his people. When the arms of Tippu received a check, and he found it impossible to conquer Travancore as his presence was much required at Seringapatam, the delivery was imputed to the interposition of Providence. From that date, the realm belongs to *Padmanabhaswami*, while the Rajas are considered to be appointed his viceroys, to conduct its affairs. The management of the Pagoda is conducted by a committee of 8 persons in whom the privilege is hereditary. The Raja is the President; but though he can dismiss a member after a satisfactory proof of his guilt, he cannot appoint in his stead any other but one of the same family. Everything

* This brings the dedication of the Raj to the Deity down to as late a date as a century ago.—R.S.

connected with the Pagoda is conducted by the unanimous consent of these members. But they have no power to interfere in the affairs of the State, though it also is considered sacred property.

III. *Installation.*

When the new prince is installed, he is obliged to take a solemn oath that he will never deviate from the path pursued by his predecessors, that he will give his whole attention to promoting the welfare of his people without distinction, that he will rule in conformity with the established usages of the country, that he will show no partiality towards any individual or caste, and that he will devote all his energy to the improvement of the condition of his people, bearing well in mind that he has been selected by the Almighty to rule with parental affection. Then only is he presented with the crown and the sword, the insignia of his office.

On His Highness taking the oath amidst the loud cheers of the jubilant people, the crown and the sceptre are presented to him while the High priest pronounces the benediction: "May you reign long; may you look after the interests of the charitable establishments; may you be guilty of no partiality in the administration of justice; and may this crown, that has adorned the brows of your illustrious predecessors, find you no way less worthy to bear it." Loud acclamations at once proclaim the event to the public. The people, raised to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, crowd to have a glimpse of their newly-crowned monarch, who after having prostrated himself once more, comes out of the sanctuary adorned with the crown and the sceptre.

This crown is of an antique shape, and is rather clumsy. The precious stones are exclusively sapphires, with diamonds and rubies. It is too weighty to be borne comfortably. On the upper part are two sandals of the deity set with

precious stones. It is now used only on extraordinary religious ceremonies. A simpler one is made for ordinary wear, consisting of two feet, set with brilliants, attached to a velvet cap which the Raja uses wherever he goes.

The ceremony does not end here. His Highness has to proceed to Tirupâpuram, a village 12 miles distant where he must receive the confirmation of the crown. After making the usual adorations, His Highness leaves the Pagoda and enters the adjacent Palace, allotted exclusively for the female members and children of the Royal family. Here all his troops and retinue are ordered to attend him along the route to Tirupâpuram.

In the heat of a tropical sun and attended by all the members of the family, together with his officers and other attendants, His Highness sets out for Tirupâpuram. Nothing can exceed the pomp with which the march is conducted. All the streets are ornamented with Plantain trees and wreaths, while people of all classes flock to see their sovereign, with his crown on his brow.

After a fatiguing march, His Highness reaches the place. It is a small village scarcely sufficient to accommodate such a large royal cortége. Here some ceremonies take place. The crown is then placed on His Highness's head with the usual three calls of *Kulasekhara Perumal*. From this place, His Highness directs his way to Attingal, where his family gods are placed. Here he goes through the same ceremonies, and then returns home, amid every possible expression of joy. The city is continuously illuminated for a week; the public offices are closed; and entertainments are given to all classes of the people.

His Highness has subsequently to visit certain other Pagodas in his realm, but these visits he can make at his own convenience.

XXVIII.

ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE AND THE SYRIAN CHURCH
IN INDIA.

I.—The testimonies for the mission of the apostle St. Thomas into Southern India are the following :—

1. Socrates (*Eccles. Hist.*, Lib. I. c. 29) says that, in the allotment of regions, for the exercise of their labours, among the apostles, St. Thomas took Parthia, St. Matthew Ethiopia, and St. Bartholomew the regions of India adjacent thereto. At this time Parthia, under the dominion of the Arsacidæ, was the most powerful kingdom of Asia, as it had swallowed up those portions of the Syrian territories of the Seleucidæ not subjugated by Rome, and thus acquired their Indian dominions.

2. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, L. III. c. 1) says that such was the tradition of the first five centuries. He farther states (L. V. c. 10) that St. Pantene, in his mission to India, found the Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew in the possession of the inhabitants who had received it from St. Bartholomew. The journey of Pantene is supposed to have been made in the year 317 (*see Pagi in this year of the Eccles., Annals of Baronius*).

3. So general was this belief that Cave in his *Scriptorum Ecclesias. Hist. lith.* (Oxon. 1740-3) supposes that Manes, the Heresiarch, endeavoured to turn the circumstance to his own credit by sending thither a disciple of the same name in the hope that he might be confounded with the apostle (*Cave, Sacc. tert. in Mane*).

4. It was to counteract these attempts that St. Pantene undertook his voyage, as already stated on the authority of Eusebius, and that St. Athanasius appointed Numentius Bishop of India (*Sozomene, Eccl. Hist.*, L. II. c. 24; *Socrates*, I. 29).

5. St. Jerome, too (*Ep.* 7) bears testimony to the number

of Christians from India who visited him at Jerusalem. We learn from Procopius that the silkworm was introduced into Europe by certain Christian priests from India who presented the eggs of the Bombyx to Justinian (*Hist. Misc.*, c. 17); and Cosmas of Alexandria found Christians in great numbers in his journey to India in A.D. 530 (*Indico-pleustes*, *Chris. op. de mundo*, III. 179).

After this no mention occurs of the state of Christianity in India till the 14th century, when Haito, the Armenian, alludes to the tradition of St. Thomas in his Oriental history, and says that latterly the religion taught by him had much decayed, so that it was then professed in only one city: this Marco Polo had already stated a few years before (L. III. c. 27).

II.—The following relating to St. Thomas are translated from the "*Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementina Vaticana*" of Joseph Simon Assemanus (Vol. IV., p. 435).

"1. *Saint Thomas, the Apostle of the Indies*.—All Greek, Latin, and Syriac ecclesiastical records bear testimony, that Thomas was the Apostle of the Indies. Antonius Gouvea (*La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, p. 39), in his 'History of Alexius Menezes, Archbishop of Goa' (L. I. c. 1), relates the preaching of the Apostle, from the tradition of the Christians of Malabar, in the following words: 'In the division of the parts of the earth among the apostles, India fell to the lot of the Apostle Thomas, who first preached in Arabia Felix, and in the island of Dioscuris now called Socotra; thence he proceeded to Cranganore, where the King of Malabar resided. Here happened to the Apostle the adventures narrated in his life by Abdias of Babylon. Having established many churches at Cranganore, he went to Coulan, a town of that part, and brought a large number of people to the faith of Christ. He then retired to the opposite coast of Malabar at present known by the name of Coromandel and stopped at Meliapor (which the Latins call the town of St. Thomas, and the Syrians *Beth-Thuma*, or *Be-Thuma*,

the house of Thomas), where he instructed the king and the people in the Christian mysteries. Proceeding thence to China, he preached the gospel in the city of Camballu and erected churches. But where this city Camballu is, we know not; nor is there extant in China any vestige of it, although by many arguments we might be induced to believe that the gospel was announced in those places. From the ancient records of the diocese of Angamale it would appear, that formerly it was customary to send to that coast a prelate, who bore the title of the Archbishop of the Indies. He had under him two suffragans, one in the island of Socotra, and the other in the region of Masin (as the place is called in the old registers). But St. Thomas having returned from China to the town of Meliapor brought on him the hatred and envy of two Brahmins, who, on account of the conversion of many people to the faith of Christ, raised a great multitude against him, and pursued the Apostle, casting stones: when one of the Brahmins saw him in a half-dying state, he pierced him with a lance and deprived the apostle of life.' Thus far Gouvea.

"2. *Whether St. Thomas was the Apostle of the Chinese?*— But what is related about China and the town of Camballu, Renaudot has overthrown in a work printed in French with the title '*Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs Mahometans qui y allèrent dans le neuvième siècle; à Paris, 1718,*' in which, at page 228, he shows that St. Thomas preached in the Indies and not in China. But what Gouvea says to be unknown to him as to where 'the town of Camballu and the region of Masin' were situated, La Croze rightly points out (*History of the Christians of India*, p. 40), that the first was the metropolis of China, and the second the southern part of that empire, called also by the name of Mangi. 'Camballè,' says he, 'is the metropolis of China, which the Tartars denominate Cambalu, that is the city of the Emperor (concerning which see Marco Polo, L. II. c. 10, and Magaillan, c. 1,

p. 6); but Masin is the southern part of China, which by the Oriental writers is commonly called Masin or Matsin.' Thomas, Iaballaha, Jacob, and Denha, Bishops of the Indies, in their relation of Indian affairs, written in 1504, to their Patriarch Elias, join Sina with Masin. 'He next directed the same four Fathers to proceed to the country of the Indians, and to the isles of the sea, that are between Dabag, and Sin and Masin.' And further on: 'The Epistle which the Fathers of India, and Sin and Masin, have despatched.' The Arabs, Persians and Turks understand by these two names the whole tract of country in which northern and southern China are comprehended. 'The Eastern writers,' says Herbelot (p. 811) 'in speaking of China in general, call it Tchin and Matchin (Sina and Masina), just as they mean all Tartary when they use the expression Jagiug and Magiug, that is Gog and Magog, of which mention is made in the sacred writings. Some geographers contend that the name Tchin designated northern China, which many hold to be the same as Khathu or Khathai; and that Southern China was called Matchin, under which they include Cochin China, Tonquin, and the kingdoms of Anam, together with Siam and Pegu.'

"3. *Ancient records of the Indian Christians till the arrival of the Portuguese* (p. 441).—Antonius Gouvea and other Portuguese, Italian, French and Spanish writers relate, on the authority of the Malabar Christians, that the following incidents occurred in India, from the death of the Apostle St. Thomas to the year when the Portuguese arrived in that country. The Church, founded in India by St. Thomas (say they, *La Croze*, p. 43), flourished till then, and possessed its own Bishops, Presbyters, Clergy and faithful; but afterwards, when the infidel kings occupied Meliapor and the neighbouring towns, they raised a severe persecution against the Christians. Hence very many persons retired to the mountains where is situated the region of Malabar, in the southern part of the peninsula

this side the Ganges, towards the west, between the kingdom of Deccan on the north and the promontory of Comorin on the south : this extent the Portuguese call *Serra*,* or the mountains, of Malabar. There they found the Christians whom St. Thomas had instructed, before proceeding to Meliapor. From these mountains they spread themselves over the territories of Angamale, Cranganore, Coulan, Travancore, Cochin, Cananore, and the lands belonging at present to the king of Calicut, whom they otherwise style the *Samorin* or Emperor. Many privileges were granted to them by the heathen rulers of those provinces ; especially by Ceram Perumal, the Emperor of all Malabar, who founded the town of Calicut in A.D. 907 according to Scaliger (*L. 5 de Emend. temp.* p. 525) or in 825 according to Kircher (*Biblioth., Bremen, Fascicul. IV, col. 5, p. 763*). They were certainly invested with the honours of nobility and left to the government of their own Bishops in civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs. A copy of these privileges was diligently preserved by the Nestorian Bishops until the arrival of the Portuguese in Malabar. It was lost, they say, through carelessness when Jacob the Bishop of Angamale delivered it to the Portuguese commissary at Cochin. Alexius Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, saw (A.D. 1599) a grant belonging to the Christians of Coulan, written in the Malayalim, Canarese, Bisnagur,† and Tamil languages. In the reign of Ceram Perumal, a certain Thomas, an Armenian, commonly called Thomas Cana (*La Croze*, pp. 46, 49) is reported to have arrived in Malabar. He is said to have had two wives ; one at Cranganore, and the other at Angamale. By each of these women he had children : but the offspring of the former were styled the nobility, who refused to contract marriages

* '*Sera*, or more commonly *Chera*.—R. S.

† Vijayanagar. This may mean Telugu ; but Canarese would be more appropriately called the Vijayanagar language, though it is true that at one period the Vijayanagar kingdom comprised large portions of the Telugu country. Still in A.D. 1599 the Vijayanagar sovereignty had ceased over the Canarese country.—R. S.

with the descendants of the latter woman or even to admit them to the communion of the Church or to acknowledge their priests; for they held the first to be his lawful wife, and the second only a concubine. From this Thomas, then, all the race of Malabar Christians trace their origin. About a century afterwards, that is A.D. 922,* two Bishops seem to have been despatched from Babylon to India, Saporess and Perozes, whom Gouvea everywhere calls *Mar Habro* and *Mar Prodh.* Being very kindly received by the ruler of Coulan, they erected churches and converted many to the faith of Christ. The same Gouvea writes that the above-mentioned Bishops founded in Coulan the Church of St. Thomas, 733 years before A.D. 1603, that is in A.D. 870. The Nestorian Malabar Christians venerated them as saints. In the Synod of Diamper (*Sess. 8, Dec. 25*) the Archbishop of Goa directed that the Churches dedicated to their names whether in the town of Coulan or elsewhere should be consecrated by the title of All Saints, and he interdicted veneration being paid to them until it was established that they were not Nestorians. In process of time, however, the Christians of Coulan and Cochin attained to some consequence, so that they set up a ruler for themselves. Baliartes was the first to reign in Malabar with the title of *King of the Christians of St. Thomas*, and after him, several of his descendants governed the Kingdom, till at last it passed from the Christian to the heathen kings of Diampur, by the law of adoption. The kings of Cochin were "Malabar Christians, when the Portuguese first landed at those coasts."

4. *The Syrian Church in India.*—This relation presents a brief and interesting account of the state of the Syrian Church in India, and of the settlement of the Portuguese in that country in the fifteenth century. The original in Syriac, is published by *Assemani (Biblioth.*

* Not 822, as La Croze erroneously places it. For if A.D. 1602 answer to the year 680 of the people of Coulan according to Gouvea, it is plain that this epoch commenced in the year 922 and not in 822 (*Assemanus*).

Orient., Vol. iii., pp. 90-599), with a Latin version, from which I have made this translation, as literally as practicable. The Manuscript used by Assemanus was written in the Grecian Period 1844, or A.D. 1533, and is marked No. v. of the Syriac Manuscripts of Andreas Scandar preserved in the Vatican Library. (See *Biblioth. Orient.*, Vol. ii., p. 487.)

“Trusting in the assistance of God the Lord of all, we write the History of the blessed Indians, and of their arrival at the city of Gazarta Zebedœ.

“Now in the year 1801 of Alexander,* there came three faithful Christian men from the remote regions of India to Mar† Simeon, the Catholicos Patriarch of the East, that they might obtain Bishops for their provinces,—and conduct them thither. One of them, according to the will of the Creator, died on the way ; the other two came in safety to the Mar Catholicos then residing in the city of Gazarta Zebedœ;‡ and they were received by him with exceeding joy. One of them was called George, and the other Joseph. Both were ordained priests by the Mar Catholicos, in the holy church of St. George in Gazarta, because they were sufficiently instructed in learning. They were afterwards sent to the convent of the holy and blessed Eugenius.§

* The Syrians compute time by the Grecian Period, in which the year 1801 corresponds to A.D. 1490.

† *Mar*: a Syriac title signifying Lord or Holy (applied generally to Bishops).

‡ Gazarta Zebedœ, is otherwise called Gazarta, that is the Island of *Cardoa*. By the Arabs it is denominated *Gezira* ; by Ammianus *Bezabda* ; by Jerome *Zabdicene* ; and by Masius *Gazerta*. It is an island and city of the river Tigris, situated about 12 miles above Mosul, is nearly 10 miles in circumference, surrounded on all sides by walls. See the Dissertation on the Monophysites, under the article *Gazarta*, and Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.*, vol. i., p. 524.

§ In the History of the Nestorian Patriarchs, composed by Mares, in the life of Papas, Eugenius is said to have come to Nisibis from Egypt, to have resided in the mountain of Izlensi, to have prophesied concerning Arius and the Nicene Council, to have travelled over Cherda and Bizebda, and finally to have built a convent, in which he was buried. But in the Syriac Poem of Nedjesu Sobensis (vol. iii., p. 147) that convent is said to have been erected at Beth-Maare, a village subject to Nisibis (Assemanus).

Hence they brought two monks bearing the same name—for both had the designation of Raban Joseph—whom the Mar Catholicos consecrated Bishops in the church of St. George : the one he named Thomas,* and the other Joannes. He delivered to them excellent letters patent and other documents, signed and sealed with his ring, and dismissed them with prayers and benedictions, and directed them to proceed to the region of the Indies, together with the Indians. When these four had arrived there in safety, by the help of Christ our Lord, they were received, with much gladness, by those believers, who met them with joy, carrying in front a copy of the Gospels, a Cross, censers and tapers, and they brought them in, with great pomp and singing of Psalms and hymns. They consecrated altars and ordained many priests, because for a long time they had been in want of Bishops. Mar Joannes, the Bishop, remained in India ; but Mar Thomas, his colleague, returning shortly to the Catholicos, carried for him gifts and offerings and a servant.

“ It happened that before the return of the Bishop, Mar Thomas, to India, Mar Simeon, the Catholicos, died, and from this temporal and changing life he departed to that eternal and immortal state in the year 1813 of the Greeks (A.D. 1502), and he is buried in the monastery of the holy and blessed Eugenius. May the Lord vouchsafe to grant rest to his soul in the celestial mansions of his kingdom : Amen ! Elias, the Catholicos Patriarch, succeeded him, who also took three very excellent monks from the monastery of St. Eugenius. The first of these was Raban David, surnamed the Tall, whom he ordained Metropolitan, and called Mar Jaballaha. The second was named Raban George, whom he consecrated Bishop, and directed to be called Mar Denha. The last was Mar Másud, whom he likewise created Bishop, and called Mar Jacob. He ordained

* Ludovicus Gusmanus mentions this Thomas in his history of the Indian Expeditions (L. 2 c. 37), and also Athanasius Kircher in *Prodrom.*, p. 112 (Assemanus).

all these in the Monastery of St. John* of Egypt, own brother of Saint Achæus, in the territory of Gazarta Zebedœ, in the year of the Greeks 1814. He afterwards charged these very four Fathers to proceed to the country of the Indies and to the Islands of the sea that are within Dabag, and Sin, and Masin,† and, by the assistance of Christ, their Lord, they all reached thither in safety, and found Mar John, the Bishop of the Indies, still alive, who exceedingly rejoiced, together with the other worthy believers who dwelt there, at the arrival of the Fathers.

“The next year, they sent letters to Mar Elias the Catholicos, who, however, did not receive them, being prevented by death; and he was buried in the church of Meschinta in the city of Mosul. Mar Simeon was chosen Catholicos in his place. But the letter written from India by the above-mentioned Fathers, was after this manner:—

“‘*The Epistle which the Fathers of India and Sin and Masin have despatched:—*

“‘To another Simeon, and to the Papas of our days, to the Timothy of our age, to the Joshua the son of Nun of our times, and to the Jesu Jabas of our era,‡ to whom was

* Andreas Masius mentions this convent in the preface to the Anaphora of St. Basil. But Mares relates in the life of Bar Baseminus the Patriarch, that John and Achas were the disciples of the holy Eugenius, and that they converted a temple of idols at Bezabdi into a church, where they founded a convent to which was afterwards given the denomination of *Zarnucha* (see vol. ii., page 537 and 540, concerning the account of John and Achas, in the Menology of the Chaldæans, and regarding the convent, situated in the island of Zebedœ). (Assemanus).

† Meaning the Islands that lie contiguous to India and China, where it has been found that Syrians had resided from early times, both by the history of that people, and the celebrated stone monument discovered in the region of China (concerning which see Assemani, Biblioth. Orient. Vol. II. p. 255).

‡ The Patriarch Elias is here addressed by the names of his predecessors, who were noted among that people for the fame of their sanctity or doctrine. Simeon surnamed Bar-saba was a Martyr under Sapor King of the Persians; Papas was the predecessor of this Simeon; Timothy in the year 782 ruled over the Nestorians; Jesus the son of Nun, or Josue Bar-Nun, succeeded

given power in heaven and earth of feeding the flock of Christ, with the rod of Peter which has been transmitted to the times succeeding him;—O blessed people to whom this happened, namely, to possess such a Highpriest and Ruler!—to Mar Elias the Catholicos Patriarch of the East (the mother of the other portions of the world) whom may the Lord establish, comfort, raise, magnify and strengthen for the glory of the Christian religion and for the exaltation of the churches: Amen!—Thy insignificant servants and imperfect disciples, Mar Jaballaha, Mar Thomas, and Mar Jacob, and Denha the pilgrim, contemptible and weak, adore the footstool of thy spotless and holy feet, and beseech for their distress the aid of thy acceptable and efficacious prayers, and with an uplifted voice say in a supplicatory mood, Lord, bless us! Lord, bless us! Lord, bless us!—John also, the tabernacle of God, and the treasure of his ministry, saint and chief of saints, Metropolitan Bishop of Atela; and all the holy Fathers, and excellent monks and sacred priests and immaculate Deacons, and chosen believers, and all the Christians dwelling there, may they receive our greeting in the Lord!

“ ‘We now signify for thy sincere delight, that assisted by divine power and the aid of thy acceptable prayers, we arrived safely and in good health at the blessed lands of the Indians, through the efficacy of heavenly grace. We return thanks to God the Lord of all, who confounds not those who put their trust in him. Here then we were received by the Christians, with the greatest joy: and our Father the holy Mar John is still alive, and sends to you much greeting. There are here, about thirty thousand Christian families in communion of faith with us, and they beseech the Lord that he might preserve you in safety.

Timothy. Among others, three persons of the name of Jessijabas, are celebrated—namely, Arzunensis, Gadalensis and Adjabenus (regarding whom see Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.*, Vol. iii. *passim*, and also Vol. ii., p. 397-399, 415, 416, 420-433, and 434.

Now they have commenced to erect other churches, and they abound with plenty of all things, and they are gentle and peaceful. The Lord be praised! But the Churches of St. Thomas the Apostle are beginning to be frequented by certain Christians, who are employed in their restoration. They are distant also from the above-mentioned Christians by a journey of nearly 25 days, and they dwell by the sea, in a city, called Meliapor, in the province of Silan, which is one of the provinces of India. For the regions of the Indies are many and powerful; and they occupy a journey of six months, and each kingdom has its own name. Our region also, in which the Christians dwell, is called Malabar, and it has about twenty cities, of which three are celebrated and strong: Carangol, Palor, and Colom;* and others that lie close to these. In all these, likewise, Christians dwell, and churches have been constructed; and near at hand lies the great and opulent city Calicut, which the idolatrous infidels occupy.

“ ‘ This also learn ye, our Fathers; namely, that powerful ships have been sent to these lands of the Indies from the West by the King of the Christians, who are our brethren, the Franks.† The voyage lasted a whole year; at first, steering towards the south, they sailed by Chus, that is, Ethiopia; whence they came to the countries of the Indies; and having purchased pepper and other commodities, they returned to their people. The way being thus opened and well explored, the above-mentioned King (whom may the Lord preserve in safety) despatched six other large vessels, in which having crossed the sea in 6 months, they landed at the city of Calicut, being most

* These are cities in Malabar; Cranganor, Coulan, and Pala; or (according to Gusman in the *Indian History*, lib. 2, chap. 37, and Kircher, in his *Prodromus*, p. 115), *Cranganor* and *Colon*. *Cananor* and Calicut are places of the same country, concerning which see Baudrandus in his *Lexicon*.

† Meaning the Portuguese, as is evident from the accounts below. By the Eastern nations all Europeans are designated by the name of Franks. See Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, Vol. I., p. 499.

skilled in the naval art. A great many Ishmaelites* inhabit Calicut, who, roused by a natural hatred against the Christians, began to accuse them to the heathen King, saying that those men had come from the west, and that the city and the region had exceedingly pleased them; wherefore they would return very shortly to their King and bring large forces in ships, whence war and the destruction of the Kingdom would ensue.

“ ‘The infidel king believed the words of the Ishmaelites, and following their advice, he rushed like a foolish person, and slew all the above-mentioned Franks whom he found in the city,—70 men, and 5 excellent priests, who attended them; for they were not accustomed to undertake a journey or proceed anywhere without priests. The rest, who were in the ships, having heaved anchors, departed with extreme sorrow and bitter tears, and came to us Christians in the city of Cocen,† as being near at hand. This place likewise has an infidel King, who, seeing them in deep commotion and great distress, summoned them to him, comforted them, and swore that he would never forsake them. But when the wicked King who had slain their companions became aware of this, he burned with rage, and having collected an immense army, he attacked them. Wherefore the Franks were compelled, together with the King to whom they had fled, to betake themselves to the most fortified castle on that sea coast, where they remained for some days. Then at length Christ compassionated them; a great many ships from the country of those Franks were driven hither, and engaged the King of Calicut in a very grievous war; and applying their engines they cast at him large stones, and killed many men from the army of the wicked King, and drove him and his forces from the sea coast. Thence the Franks departed to the city of Cocen, and built there a

* By the term Ishmaelites the Arabs are understood: the same epithet is generally applied to that people by Armenian historians.

† Cochin or Cocin, a maritime town of the province of Malabar, regarding which consult Baudrandus in his Lexicon (Assemanus).

large fort, and strengthened it with a garrison of 300 war-like soldiers of their own nation, of whom some worked the engines, and others were musketeers. There were placed nearly 50 immense engines, and about 100 small ones besides muskets. Meanwhile, the King, their enemy (may his memory perish), renewed the war. But afterwards engaging in battle, he was conquered through the might of Christ, 3,000 of his men being lost, whom the engines shattered; and he fled to his own city, Calicut. The Franks, therefore, followed him by sea,—for his city is washed by the sea,—they seized him and took and destroyed his ships, and killed about 100 Ishmaelites, and the Captains of the vessels in which they were found. They destroyed the city also with their engines.

“‘ Having finished the war, the commander of the above-mentioned Franks came to another city, called Cananor, in the same region of Malabar, to another infidel King, and demanded of him a place in his city where they might freely transact their business, and the men of their nation might reside in future years, landing henceforward at that place. He gave them a spot, and a spacious house, received them with great joy and treated them very kindly. The Christian commander, in return, offered to the King garments embroidered with gold,—and stuffs of purple colour. Afterwards having purchased 4,000 tagaras of pepper, he departed to his own country. About 20 men of their nation reside in the city of Cananor. Proceeding to them, after we had arrived, from the town Hormizda,* at Cananor, the city of the Indians, we signified to them that we were Christians, and disclosed our condition and rank, and were welcomed by them with extreme gladness. They presented to us splendid robes, and 20 drachms of gold, and praised our journey for the sake of Christ, beyond its desert. We remained among them $2\frac{1}{2}$ months, and they directed that, on a fixed day, we should perform the sacred

* The town Hormus, or Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. It is called Hermes by Haithon, *Hist. Orient.*, c. vi.

mysteries, that is, celebrate the sacrifice. And they have fixed a place convenient for performing prayer, that is, an Oratory : their priests daily perform and offer the holy Sacrifice, for this is their custom and rite. Wherefore on the Lord's day, *Nosardel*,* after their priest had celebrated, we also were admitted and performed the mystery : and it greatly pleased their sight. Setting out thence we came to our Christians, who are distant 8 days' journey from that place. The number of the above-mentioned Franks is reckoned about 400 men ; and the terror and fear of them fell upon all the infidels and Ishmaelites of those regions. But the country of the Franks is called Portugal, one of the kingdoms of the Franks ; and their king is named Emmanuel.† We beseech Emmanuel that he might preserve him.

“ ‘ Blame us not, brethren, that we have lengthened out this Epistle, for we wished and desired to signify these things to your excellence. And may the Lord be with us all ! Amen !

“ ‘ The Epistle was written, and sent from the country of India in the year of the Greeks 1815 (A.D. 1504). Glory and honour and thanksgiving and worship be unto God, now and for ever, and for age of ages ! Amen !

“ ‘ Finished ; praise be to our Lord, and may his mercies be upon us for ages ! ’ ”

* The Lord's day, *Nosardel*, is the first Sunday in summer, as the Chaldæans call it, and the seventh after Pentecost, concerning which see the *Service of the Chaldæans*, *Assemanus*, *Biblioth. Orient.*, Vol. I., p. 581.

† King Emmanuel, surnamed the Great, reigned in Portugal from A.D. 1495 to 1521.

With reference to the remark in this interesting paper regarding the murder of St. Thomas by a Brahmin at Maliapur, it seems to be more correctly held that King Gondafares, of whom the Woking Museum possesses an inscription, put the Apostle to death.—ED.

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Walter Elliot

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